THE

CATHOLIQUE

APOLOGY

WITH A

REPLY

TO THE ANSWER

Together with a clear Refutation of the *Seasonable Discourse*, its *Reasonable Defence*, & D. Du Moulins *Answer to Philanax*; as also D. Stillingfleet's *last Gun-powder Treason Sermon*, his attaque about the *Treaty of Munster*, & all manner of Faits charg'd on the English Catholiques by their Enemies.

BY A PERSON OF HONOUR.

THE THIRD EDITION
much augmented.

Longa est injuria, longæ Ambages, sed summa sequar vestigia rerum. Virg. l. 1.

M. DC. LXXIV.

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TO THE PERSON OF HONOVR

the Author of the *Animadversions* upon *Mr Cressey's Book*, entituled Fanaticisme Fanatically imputed to the Catholique Church.

My Lord.

I *Shall not be so rude to enquire who you are, since you thought fit to conceal your Name, & be* incognitò; *'tis enough for me that you are lesse reserv'd about your quality, that so I may pay it the respect it merits. But give me leave to tell you, that I was not a little amaz'd to hear you exclame in your first Onset at the* Pride, Bitternesse, Virulency, *&* Rudenesse (*as you terme it*) *of Dr Cressey's Writings, when in the same breath you declare,* how pleasant a sight Dr Stillingfleet's labours were to you. *Far be it from me to disparage his Parts, especially since you deeme him the ablest Champion that has yet drawn his sword in Defence of your Church, & certainly without being taxt of too much fondnesse & partiality by strangers, I may (I thinke) lawfully averre, that no Nation from time to time has bin more pregnãt & fruit-full in men of Ingenuity & Wit than ours, at whatsoever marke they have level'd their endeavours. I say far be it from me to disparage his parts, though I entreat your Lp. to rub up your memory a little (seeing we live I am sure in a forgetfull clime) & upon Reflexion you'l finde, that no English man of Eminency & Note since the* Reformation *has bin more satyrical,*

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abusive, and insulting than himselfe. But who is so great as to have no Equal, or so swift, that none can so much as tread upon his heels? Here then my Ld I present you with another Spiritual Artist, to wit the Anti-Apologist, my old Adversary, or late Unseasonable Discourser, who uses also the like infusion of gall & vinegar in his Inck; & if their way of handling be different, their designe is still the same, viz. To make us appeare, monstrous & frightfull to the world, though it be attended by consequences dismal & destructive in their Nature.

The first of them (I mean Dr Stillingfleet) like a fierce Mezentius enters the field, & trampling on what is holy, derides with the utmost scorne & scurrility the sanctity of several Christiã Professors, which so many of their Contemporaries (as famous for their profoundnesse in learning, as mighty for their quality & state) have with veneration approv'd; & which so many others of the like condition since their Deaths to the great honour of God, have both admir'd & imitated. If then notwithstanding so universal a consent, these men were still Impostors, because (after racking & sometimes perverting of story) he fancies them proud in their Expressions, morose in their humours, fantastical in their Actions, nay full of Designe & Intrigue, I leave it to your Lp. to judge (waving what the flouting Infidel of old pretended) whether the Atheists & Scepticks of our doubting Age may not here have hints to call Samuel, David, Eliah, Elisha, with others of the holiests of the Prophets to account, & then question if they were of God or no.

On the other side my Adversary (though he spares not the sacred memory of the Dead, when they casually fall in his way) directs chiefly his Course against the Living

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even his own Fellow-Subjects, whom (after Demonstrations of the highest loyalty to their Prince, & the zealousest Passion for the very temporal Glory of their Countrey) he not only load's with infinite false Aspersion & calumnies, but (forgetting as well that tenderneſſe, which the gentle Air of this Happy Iſle *was wont to inſpire, as the high quality of our* Catholiques) *uſes ſuch barbarous & virulent Language, too rude even for the meaneſt Peaſant, & this after that great Modeſty & humble deportement in our* Apology *all along; ſo that (beſides the foulneſſe & ingratitude of his expreſſions) he keep's up to his power the Ball of Diſcord & Strife, endeavouring to make deſperate every* Diſſenter in Religion, *by bereaving him of all hope of Mercy, let his Proteſtations be never ſo ſincere, & his Actions never ſo conſpicuous & great.*

Innumerable are the other foul-mouthd Libells that dayly come out againſt us, which I mention not becauſe written by men, as contemptible perchance in their rāck, as Wit; & forc't in this Carnaval of Writing, like Bandits, *both for their ſecurity, & credit to go in Maſcarade. How comes it then that your Lp. is ſo ſevere againſt Mr* Creſſy, *when ſuch Libertinage is to be found in your own Camp, & moſt particularly uſed by the chief Commanders of it? Certainly if you knew that Gentleman, you would inſtead of a* Waſpe *have rather calld him a Bee, which gives honey, & never ſtings unleſſe exaſperated, & in it's own Defence. What could I beſeech you be more irritating in the World than* Dr Stillingfleet's *Writings, whether you look upon their Taunts, or (as we thinke) Profaneneſſe? And is it not wittily, & judiciouſly ſaid of* Mr Marvel *in the* 2d pt *of his* Reherſal Tranſpros'd (p. 37), *That when a*

Clergy-

„Clergy-man *writes an ill* Book *he is laid open to the* „*Pen of any one that knows how to manage it, & that* „*every Person who has either Wit, Learning, or So-* „*briety is licensed, if he be debauc'd, to curb him, if* „*erronious, to catechize him, & if foul mouth'd & bi-* „*ting, to muzzle him: For they do (continue's he) but* „*abuse themselves who shall any longer consider or re-* „*verence such a one, who as often as he undresses, de-* „*grades himselfe, & would never have come into the* „*Church but to take Sanctuary.*

'Twas this injurious dealing that raisd the Doctor *so many eager & netled Assailants, whose number you may finde in the* Preface of A. B's Smart Letters or Observations on his Booke & way of Writing, *& whose Quarrel I believe will not end with their Lives; Nor is it to be wondred at if some repaid him in specie, since the most phlegmatique & gentle Creatures that are, become warme by Provocation.*

As for my selfe, he has in that very Answer *which you so admire, brought me into the lists whether I would or no; but since he designes to have me also follow his triumphal Chariot, it shall not be I'l promise him without Blows, though I hope without expressions misbecoming either of us; & yet I am sure he has not bin over liberal in his ceremony with me, which he may easily excuse as lost labour, if he can once convict us of Fanaticisme.*

Having my Lord made you this little though just Remonstrance, I take the freedom now of sending you a small Present, to wit this Treatise, which I do the more willingly, because it show's in some maner my concurrence to your own Desires, who put pen to paper you say, to invite other Lay-men to write; only here-

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in we disagree, That you designe the defence of Religion, which I pretend not to meddle with, but fall upō a Discourse more suitable to my Education, & that of the Gentry in general, viz. Of matters of Fact, & of several remarkable Trans-actions in the Nation; as also of the high & various charges that have (especially for these hundred & odde yeares) bin lay'd at the Dores of our Catholiques, a Party not only to be valu'd for their great Birth & Breeding, but to have some tenderneſſe sho'wd them also, seing ther's no Person of the least quality in the Kingdom, that has not Relations among them. A Turk may be injur'd though his Religion be false; nor dos it presenely follow that the Protestant Faith is untrue, because Papists have bin calumniated & abused by some paultry People for advantage & by ends, who like vicious Women endeavour tooth & naile to corrupt others, that by the Universality of the Crime, they may not appear singular.

The Method & Occasion of this Reply as to all my Combatants, may be found in the Advertisement to the Reader, or in the place of Batail it selfe, with the pretty Ergo's or Consequences which my Adversary has made for me; & though the said Reply has in great part bin abroad before, yet your Lp's Goodneſſe I dare say is such, that you'l take it as kindly, as if this had bin it's first flight. 'Tis by no meanes my Intention to meddle with your Book, not doubting, but Mr Cressy will peruse it, & soon informe you of your mistakes, only when you touch upon any of the common & recieved stories of Popish Practices you may here finde somthing concerning them, even what your own beſt Writers confeſſe in cold bloud; nay in effect (how after so much clamor & stir) they really laugh in their sleeves.

And since I talk of laughing, your Lp will at least smile (I believe) to see how I am pester'd with my said old Adversary, *not barely to discover his name, but to make him own that he writes against me; for I no sooner answer one Pamphlet, but in his next he tells me, 'Tis not his; & which is more, sticks not (if he thinks it for his turne) to disown the seing of what has bin out against him. For in his last work, which he call's his* Reasonable Defence, *because I cleerly & publicly shew'd him, that his* Seasonable Discourse *was answer'd even before 't was pen'd, by the first Edition of this* Treatise, *he bobs me of with this Question,* Do you think Sr that all mankinde is bound to read whatsoever you wrote? *& so after a turne or two, he'l deem it perchance injustice, if he be not thought* Invincible. *But your Lp knows, that as fast as Fortification betters, the wayes of Attaquing encrease too, so that I have now found meanes for the future to obviat this blow, having served* Mr Brome at the Gun on the West end of St Pauls (*who is the common Sollicitor of the Hectoring Pen men of the Town*) *with halfe a dozen of these* Replys, *which I doubt not but my* Ld Keeper *himselfe* (*were the Case before him*) *would take for sufficient notice. This is all my Ld that I shall now trouble you with, being unwilling to detain you longer from perusing your Present, which when you have done, you shall finde me at the end attending you with a Postcript, & so kissing your hands I rest*

Feb: 8. *A. D.* 1673. *by the English Computation, but by the forren.* 1674.

Your Lp's
Most Faithfull Servant

If the different dates of several Pieces here should not be readily understood, be pleas'd to consult the last Page.

A PRELIMENARY DISCOURSE OR PREFACE TO ALL THE ROYALISTS that ſuffered for HIS MAJESTY;

AND To all the reſt of the Good People of *ENGLAND.*

My Lords and Gentlemen;

IF formerly the English Catholiques bytheir *Apology* did intreat your Interceſſion to our Gratious Monarch, in ſuſpending the execution of thoſe ſeverities then proclaimed: I (a member of that faithful Body) muſt now beſeech

The Adverſarys endeavours to the inferences of his diſcovry.

beseech your Justice against a Writer, who not only strives to oppress the Innocent, but also (by the inferences of his Discourse) would stifle hereafter Zeal, and mitigate, if he could, the fire, that resides in the breasts of all loyal & generous Subjects. Can any thing touch men of Honour more than after the loss of so many Lives and Estates, insultingly to have it said, *It was but your Duty?* Nay, to go on farther, even in a barbarous falsity. *That Necessity only forc'd us to what we did, and That at all times you would rather far have had our room than Company.* What Preacher preacht this in the days of old? Or who told us when *Cromwel* lived, *Be gone, you are no friends to Cæsar?* It was our Duty, I confess, and a Duty which no good man can refuse his Soveraign, neither shall we ever be shockt in the fervour of it, by the Doctrine of such an Adversary.

Why the Author now Writes.

The reason why I now take up the Gantlet of this *Goliah*, is to shew the candour of our Actions, being yet purer than his words are black: which though many could do far better than I, yet here I appear challenged into the List, as *Author* of the late *Apology*. Author I can call my self, if plain words may create that Title; but the Duty and Submission is the sence of the whole Catholique Party; and for the matter of Fact, Books are the preservers of it, which will for ever record our Innocence

nocence, in spite of such detraction and calumny.

A *Jesuit*, He is pleas'd to call me, though I had not the happiness to be bred in their learned Schools: but his trick now plainly appears, that thus he hopes to make Truth it self suspected, because by the Preaching of most since the Reformation, the Ignorant (as children consider *Sarazens*) have most fond *Ideas* of the *Society*, and of all Priests in general.

My Lords and Gentlemen, Before I go any farther, I think it most necessary to tell you what moved me to write that Sheet of Paper, which when you have well weighed, you will find in the intention, perchance that Piety, which is usually lodged in an English Heart: and that you may assure your selves of the sincerity of my thoughts, Know, that if my Arm was too weak to weild a Sword in the late just War, I had then a passion to wish my years greater. But though I thus lost the Honour of laying my life at the feet of the injured Father, I had yet the satisfaction to hazard it for the Son, even before, and since his happy Restauration. For my neer Relations, they all suffered in the Common Cause, which, as it brought death to some, so to others the sale of their considerable Estates; and the best Fortune that any could expect, was to be crowded into the dreadful List for Compo-

Why the Apology Was Written & the Author's integrity

ſition. I am ſure my Zeal to the Royal Family has been as forward (to my power) as the beſt, more than which, no body certainly can do; nor have I ever been farther Satyrical againſt thoſe that ſtand at Helm, than by innocently ſaying, *We Catholiques are always moſt unfortunate.* This is the Profeſſion I have lived in, and in the ſame loyal Faith will I end my days. Doubtleſs then I could have no ſiniſter deſign in publishing the *Apology*; the good end I had, let the World conſider.

1. Reaſon. *My firſt Reaſon* was the Law of Nature: which gives the Needy leave to call for Mercy: nor was there at any time a People ſo cruel, that ever yet denied this favour.

Could there be a more frightful ſight, than to ſee the whole English World on a ſudden, (after that wonderfull Fire of *London*) point and cry *Fie on them*, *Fie on them?* What ſcoffing Blaſphemies did the Seditious utter? How did Tenants begin to affront their Landlords? Nay, (omitting ſeveral inſolencies of the Rabble) I knew ſome Juſtices, by reaſon of private ſpleen to their Neighbours, ſeiſe on a Servant, threatning his commitment, unleſs he made Oath what his Maſter daily did. Thus then in a trice we became an Eye-ſore to our Friends, and a by-word, among the greateſt Enemies, of the Nation

But now my Adverſary may perchance demand

demand, *Is not this accusing the King, and blaming, the whole Parliament for their Advice and Counsel.* To which I answer, first, with the great Ambassador of Heaven, *God forbid;* nor is it possible for a man, who would hazard whatever is dear to him on Earth for the glory of his Country, to harbour such thoughts against lawful and just Authority. Next Sr: let me ask you, whether Laws in all places are executed by inferiour Officers according to the intent of the Legislator? Remember I beseech you the prudent Bill for purging Corporatiõs, and you will find how private revenge converted it into quite another thing. This is a Flayl, against which no wisdõ can make defence; but nevertheless, it smarts, and may force a shriek from the Oppress, without offence to Government.

My Lords and Gentlemen; I do with all submission acknowledge that Counsellors (especially the Supreme) may advise their Soveraign to execute Laws without giving a reason to the Publick; and moreover, I say, that 'twas Mercy they were 'till then suspended: yet it is no crime, even when they are revived, humbly to beg for favour, and to illustrate this, consider, I beseech you, an Example.

Imagine that his Majesty being returned, an honest Cavalier was restored to his House,

which, with two parts of his Lãds, lay round about a City, the prime Jewel in the Royal Diadem. Here the good man sitting now under his vine, dayly blesses God for the happinesse of the Nation, and here each moment he conceives fresh joys, by considering how superlative his late sufferings were. If then on a sudden both *Houses* (upon some new emergency) should beseech his *Majesty* to make use of old Laws to re-fortifie this his Chiefe Hold (which consequently would destroy that poore Subject's Estate) no body I think could wonder to see him amazed and troubled. Suppose then, to divert this utter ruine, he should beseech his friends to intercede, should shew his sufferings, should urge reasons that his house would be a strength to the Town, and that the King's Enemies have certainly some bad design by his calamity: For all this, the Prince is no way necessitated to grant his request; because reasons which seem strong to a Party concerned, may yet in themselves be frivolous, when they are weighed by judgments who know far better the state of things, then private men can be conceived to do; but yet, it were severe to indite this man for a *Libeller*, or say (because he begs) that he mutinies against the Government.

Nineveh might call for mercy without affronting.

affrontig Heaven, even after ſentence was given; nor has ever the King of Kings, when he punishes, forbid den his children to cry, *Remember Abraham, Remember Iſaac, Remember Iacob*; *O Lord remember the promiſes that thou haſt made of old.*

My ſecond Reaſon, was as a Subject to keep the Peace, and to the utmoſt of my power to prevent all ſtrife and diviſion. This is an obligation which no ſon of *Adam* can plead exemption from: for ſeeing all men are under ſome Government or other, and Quiet is, the ſole end of that, everybody muſt uſe the beſt means he can (ſo it contradict not Laws) to preſerve the thing for which Magiſtracy it ſelf was eſtabliſhed. No Creature, I am ſure, can be ignorant of the diſtraction then in *England*; for he that was in the City, fled to his Farm, frightned with the noiſe of a new fire; and he that got into the Country, poaſted again to Town, to eſcape the Maſſacre, which deſigned whiſpers dayly threatned. 2. Reaſon.

If this diſorder were among Proteſtants, what dreadful confuſion muſt you imagine amongſt Catholiques, who are but a handful, comparatively to the whole, and yet the famed Authors of theſe two Conſpiracies? Was it unbeſeeming then an English Chriſtian to wish a better underſtanding among his Countrymen, and to deſire the Royal Party should

should not be disjoyned, especially when an Invasiō, was menaced by the French & Dutch, our then hostile & confederate Neighbours, & a Rebellion newly broke out within the Circuit of our own Island? If remedies were needful, what Medicine could be better applied then the gentle balm of true Persuasion? By this, men saw *the Tares which the Enemy sowed whilst they slept*; and thus they began to reknow their often tried friends, descended (according to Nature and Grace) from those Ancestors, who like so many *Atlas's* upheld the Grandeur of our Kings, whilst the whole World from East to West admired their Victories.

Consider then, I beseech you, (Great Patriots) in whom the Prince of darkness reign's; whether in me that am termed a *Iesuit* and would banish all discord from among my Brethren; or in this my Adversary, who to sow Calumnies, plows with perverted Storie, and then harrow's with downright falsities and untruths.

Popery no check to the Glory of Kings

How does He rip up old tales of Popes, and by discovering his passion and fancy, infer, That it is a check to the Glory of Kings, and utter lofs of Soveraignty, to be under the spiritual Jurisdiction of this Universal Bishop? And who would not imagine if *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, or any other painfull Greek, that had

had run over Countries, to finde out Lawes for the well securing of Governours, were now alive, but they must after so much noise against Popery conclude; That nothing could be so political for Kings as to be Protestants; Nay, twere impossible for them after so rare a *Caveat*, but to thinke; That these abounding in all Affluence and Power, live longer than *Nestor*, whilst Those of the Catholick Profession are but Tenants at will to the Pope, & oftner murther'd than Players upon a Theatre. But how comes it, I marvel, that the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Poland* see not this? or that the Emperor (who is also Monarch of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*) and the other great Princes of *Germany* remaine ignorant of a thing of so much concernment to them? This is very strange indeed, especially since their Countries have so swarmed with these Reformed Evangelists: But it may be, they are careless of their interest, and so is the *simple Florentine*, who with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the rest of the *Italian Regulets*, want as much wit as they do Authority and Power.

These Princes, even these very last, live, as I may say, just under his Holinesse his Nose; and yet (when they please) dispute about Temporals, not only with Sword in hand, but are so absolute and arbitrary in their

Dominions

Dominions, that *England* would groan to bear once in many ages, what their Subjects daily suffer.

Reflecting thus on the premiſes, might not I well wonder in our Apology, how ſo wild a calumny could be laid to our charge, as *That our Principles are deſtructive to Soveraignty*? Truly, I did wonder, and that not a little, eſpecially ſince our fore-fathers were ſo eminent in Religion, and yet our Kings rather Monarchs of *Europe*, than of half an Iſle, giving Laws whereſoever they pleaſed. Nor is any thing more acknowledg'd than that *Hen.* the 8th himſelfe, was eſteem'd at home & abroad ten times more conſiderable before, than after his Revolt from *Rome*, though he had the whole prey of the Church for his further ſupport and maintenance. How extravagant alſo is the vain pretence of my Adverſary; *That the Perſons of our Princes, are ſafer than under Popery*: when as every body knows (ſince the ſaid King's Reformation) we have had but three Proteſtant ones, to wit *Edw.* the 6th K. *James* and *Charles* the 1st and that all of them are reputed by Proteſtat Writers, to have come to violent, and extraordinary Deaths. If ſome Popes have been exorbitant, 'tis no more our Faith to believe rheir actions juſt, than that humane tranſgreſſions are the true Precepts of Chriſtianity: and as ſome wicked

Of which more in the 11. *Reply of this Treatiſe*

wicked men dealt ill with God's Anointed; so on the other side, who stood up for them against the so much talk't of illegalities of the *Court of Rome*? Were they not *Papists*? Yes, and so fervent for their Religion, that the next day they would take the *Croisado* against any forreign Heretick, or Infidel.

'Tis no breach of our Faith to say, *that Popes in their private Determinations may erre*, much lesse, that *they sin like men*. A Pope and Council in matters of Faith we confesse Infallible; and therefore I look upon the Decrees of *Trent*, as divine as those of *Nice*: nor were there, I am sure, more tricks against *Protestants* pretended in this, than in the former against the strong and numerous *Arians*. No man abominates *Prelatique insolencies* more than I: Bring out then the Glorious Roll, and upon examination you will find, *that our bravest Catholique Princes have been the best sons of the Church*: nor is yet a *King* by our Tenets the worser Christian for defending his Rights and Priviledges. *Cæsar must have what is Cæsars*, and *to God we must render what is God's*.

The Papacy advantagious to Kings.

Shall Notions then convince Experience when as Demonstration it self often gives way to Practice? Let us now summon for witnesses to this great Truth, the present *Kings* of our Profession; and though their

thoughts

thoughts to wre far higher than Eagles, they will not only deride the contrary, but unanimously proclaime, *that their people are not rebellious by reason of Ecclesiastical dependence abroad*, nor do they think themselves lesse absolute than any Prince, who cries, *There ought to be no other Pope but I.*

I say, none of these mighty Monarchs are against their Ecclesiastical dependēce abroad, because they finde it not only agreable to their Faith, but much for their temporal Advantage also, as *Sr Edwin Sands* (that great Papa-mastix) confesses in his so cry'd up *Survey*; for he tell's us there, [a] „ That they have „ the *Pope* as a common *Father*, *Adviser* and „ *Conducter* to them all, to reconcile their „ Enmities, to appease their Displeasures, to „ decide their Differences, &c. Whereas on the contrary side he says, „ The *Protestants* „ are as sever'd, or rather scatter'd Troops, „ each drawing a divers way, without any „ meanes to pacify their quarrels, to take up „ their Controversies, without any Bond to „ knit them, their forces and courses in one: Nay, he goes on yet further in pitying the condition of the *Reformed*, by telling us, „ They have no *Patriarch*, one or more, to „ have a common Superintendency or care „ of their Churches, to be Sollicitors of Prin- „ ces for Correspondence and Unity, no ordinary

[a] Pag. 202.

Protestants for want of a Pope suffer greatly.

ordinary way to assemble a Councel of their part, the only Hope remaining ever to asswage their Contentions, and the only Desire of the wisest among them.

What shall I then say, to One, who will yet affirme our Principles inconsistent with Obedience, though He sees no Princes, either so powerfull or absolute as the Catholick. To advise him to *Anticyra* is vain, for no *Hellebore* can purge that madnesse, which first taking root by Ignorance, has afterwards been quite transform'd through Interest, into an obstinate, and selfe-decieving wilfulnesse.

My Lords and Gentlemen, As malice I feare has forc'd my Answerer thus ill to apply his reading, so now it has given him such courage, that he startles methinks at nothing, nor regard's any more whatever he says. Well might I have pardoned him that ungentile upbraiding, *That our sufferings were but Duties*, because it is a real Truth; yet no Subject takes pleasure in the sound, when in rancour and despite it is used against him: I say, well might I with silence have swallowed this, seeing afterwards I was to hear him with confidence proclaim. *That Papists were forc'd to their bravery, and like a hard-hunted-Deer, we threw our selves into the Herd, glad to be sheltered under the Royal covert.* Glad, we confess, as Loyal men grasp the occasion of expressing Zeal:

Papists not forc'd to their Loyalty.

Zeal; but that we could not ſit quietly at home, I flatly here deny: nay, Day is not clearer than this, That had not our Loyalty forbidde[n] it, we might with triumph have been received, even into the very embraces of the Enemy.

Papiſts might have bin recievd by the Parliament.

Had my Adverſary peruſed Books any farther than their *Indices* againſt Catholiques, he would have ſeen, that let Rebels declare what they will, they'l ſoon find excuſes, and publickly make uſe of thoſe very things (when 'tis for their advantage) againſt which in the beginning they openly profeſt. Was not *Godlineſs*, *Godlineſs*, the cry of all the Saints? yet becauſe dexterity was needfull, they admitted into their league *H. Martin* & others, who were then as notorious for their Vices; as afterwards eminent in all the abominations of the Land.

Again, if the Papiſts were purſued, againſt *Biſhops* there was as fierce a Chaſe; and ever after, *Popery* and *Prelacy* were continually plac'd in the ſame *Parenthesis*. For my part, I believe the *Engliſh Epiſcopacie* ſtuck more in their ſtomacks than we; becauſe Heretiks hate moſt that Religion which is but one remove above them, and from which they are ever juſtly taxt rebelliouſly to have gone out. Beſides, the Catholikes (being of a Faith for which the People had a prejudice) could no ways

ways obstruct the Reformation, which they so earnestly intended. Tis plain then, against *Prelats* they had as great, if not a greater Pique; yet when it conduced to the reducing of *North Wales*; and subduing of Sir *John Owen*, they made commander of their Forces not onely a *Bishop*, but an Arch-bishop also, I mean that *real Chimæra* (as *Cleaveland* calls him) his graceless *Grace* of *York*.

But why do I trouble you with these probable arguments to prove the possibility of our reception, whenas the matter of fact is certain, not done in a corner, but in the Palace of a King, and in the sight of all his Nobles? Sir *Arthur Aston*, a Catholick of Quality and Experience, offered our late Souveraign his service, and the service of many more upon the first preparations of War. The good Prince sincerely gave him thanks, but told him, that by reason of their *Religion*, he durst not admit them into the Army: for the Rebels (that never omitted a pretence) would make use of it, to discredit him among the people. This Knight being thus refused, rode in all haste to *London* and made the like tender to *Essex*, who being advis'd by the Cabal to accept of the Proposal, grant's to Sir *Arthur* a formal Commission, whereupon He immediately posted back to the Court, and there shewed it his Majestie; which when he saw, and

Papists courted by the Parliament.

and together with it the Intrigue of these Juglers, he not onely gave him a considerable Command, but from that time declared all Catholicks welcome, who presently from every Quarter hastned to his succour: Nor did ever Subjects surpasse them in Zeale and Constancy, for from the Royal Standard they rescued at *Edge hill*, which was the first battel, to the saving his *Majesty* after *Worcester*, which was the last, and so to his *Restauration*, there was not the least service omitted by them, that fell within their sphere, or power.

Why Papists Were courted by the Parliament.

The Designes which the Rebels had herein, were many: for by this they not onely hoped to get to themselves not a few well versed in War, great in Bloud, and of Estates answerable to that Bloud; but also were sure at the same instant to weaken as much the King, as they brought strength to themselves: and besides, they farther considered, that this might adde a gloss to their proceedings abroad, because all Neighbouring Princes (being Catholiques) would then probably look upon their actions with a more partial eye. *Scripture* also, which is the stalking-horse of all Sects, could not be wanting to them, who had already with a [a] *Curse ye Meroz* invited all to Rebellion. This very Example (if *Meroz* were a City of the *Canaanites* which Mr. [b] Fuller thinke's not improbable) might have

[a] *Iud.* 5. 23.

[b] *Full. Pisg. p.* 114.

have been a Warrant, that the Godly & Profane may joyn in a Confederation; At least 'twas evident, that the children of *Israel* who *went to fight the battels of the Lord*, used *Rahabs* assistance, a Harlot of *Jericho*; for which service they * *shew'd favour to all her fathers house*: And why then might not the Elect (when the Cause required it) receive aid from us, though children of the *Whore of Babylon*? Doubtless, in Conscience this advantage could not be omitted by those *Saints*, since it might have been a means towards our Conversion, as *Cromwel* afterwards urged, when he so passionately stickled to bring in the *Jews*. * *Iosh.* 6, 25.

My Lords and Gentlemen, Thus stood our Case, and thus are we now reviled by my Adversary, after such true and faithful Services: Yes, so Loyal have we been, that I defie all mankinde to shew one that was false, unless perchance those that renouncing their God, and shaking hands with Religion, were owned as Converts by the people. Nay, let any man read but the *History of the Conferences* at the * *Pyrenæan Treaty*, printed by the *Dutch* and others, and there he shall see, *That Cromwel esteemed us the greatest of his enemies*: for some told the Duke of *Crequi*, when he desired him (as a request of his Mistress the Queen Mother of *France*) to cease his notori- * *Pyr. Treat.* p. 4.

rious persecutions against us.

Papists Fidelity insuing the King after Worcester.

Certainly, nothing can more fully prove the sincere and disinterested meaning of our Catholiques, than the Kings miraculous Escape from *Worcester*: for he fell not into the hands of men of Qualitie onely, but among Papists of all ranks and conditions. There were *Priests*, there were *Tradesmen*, there were *Labourers*, there were *old women*, there were *young*, fully acquainted with his misery: and though at the same time, death was proclaimed to the Concealer, and to the Discoverer a reward (able to make a poor man *Emperour* in his own thoughts) yet no danger, no gain, could make them betray him, whom by their Faith they were commanded to conceal. Men of education and parts may sometimes have bydesignes, even in the best of their doings, but they of low degree (being unacquainted with the artifices of the World) declare the full reality of their hearts, having nothing lodged there, but the true Principles, which their Religion taught them.

The cause of the stirs by Papists in the beginning of Reformation.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I must here conjure you not to put any forc'd interpretation upon my words: for I do not now Apologize for any Extravagancies done by our Predecessours in the beginning of the Reformation; onely let me beseech you to look on their

Case

Case at that time with the gentlest aspect that may be. Height of temptation may perchance move pitie in Magistrates, though not pervert their Justice: and let me desire him that will judge, to lay his hand on his own brest, and truly examine there, what he himself would do in this condition. Suppose he were of a Religion which he thought the *visible Church* from age to age delivered, which he knew his Ancestors to have happily lived under, and which he saw profest by all the Kingdoms about him: suppose then on a sudden, by the preaching of two or three men (base in their rank, and taxt in Moralities one by the other) a flame should break out throug all *Europe*, and turn topsie turvie this venerable Building, to make way for divers unlike Fabricks, every one of which, each Architect affirmed, was according to God's own Word and Model. I ask him then in such a devastation, (which, to use [a] *Camden's* own phrase, *The world stood amaz'd and England groan'd at*) what would flesh and bloud move him to? 'Tis an Article of my Faith, that neither Heresie nor Turcism (because *ill must not be done that good may come of it*) can be opposed by Rebellion: though many of the most famous & greatest Reformed Divines ([b] as shall be shewn you presently) are of another sentiment. Yet even those that do agree

[a] *Camd. Brit. p. 163. B.*

[b] *Vid. Rep. 6.*

with me, will nevertheleſs confeſs, that (by reaſon of carnal paſſions) Grace muſt be predominant to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a torrent. Was it not ſtrange in the beginning (beſides the ſacrilege in Bishopricks) to behold 645. Religious Houſes, 90. Colleges, 110. Hoſpitals, & 2374. Chanteries and free Chappels turned to profane uſes; for this, is the ravage mentioned by my Lord *Herbert*, & decry'd not only by former Proteſtants, but by thoſe of our preſent Age. Nay (after a change of Liturgy and Rights) how horrid muſt it need's appeare, to ſee People renounce their pious Vows, and out of Godlineſſe grow more *Licentious*, and looſe: of which ſome particulars shall be shewed in the 5. Section, of the 48. Reply. Theſe and the like unexpected alterations (*it being a pitiful thing* (as [b] *Stow* ſays) *to hear the lamentations in the Country for Religious houſes*) ſpurred men forward to reſiſt: for all ſaw the Conflagration, and none knew what the end or Concluſion would be. But now, *Noble Country-men*, the Scene is quite altered; for now we know the full ſcope of your deſigne, now we are inured to the gentle Yoak of Proteſtant Kings, and now we are ſo incorporated by our long acquaintance, and joynt ſufferings, that all humane proneneſs to contend (which our Enemies called Principles of Faith) is wholly

[a] *Hen.* 8 *p.* 443.

[b] *Stow H.* 8. *an. Reg.* 28. *p.* 573.

wholly eradicated and taken away.

Having thus shew'd you, *That our Principles are not dangerous to Kings, That our actions have been zealous for Kings*, and moreover, *That it is impossible we should again fall into those misdemeanours, into which natural frailtie and misusage drove the foregoing age*, I will now, with your permission, examine the Answer of my Adversary to each particular *Paragraph*, and by it shall still farther let you see, as well his strange ill nature, as his intolerable Positions and Designes.

But, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, I shall beseech you, first, throughly to peruse the Apologie it self, it being the ground of the whole Dispute: and becaus it has been mangled by him into many imperfect Sections, I have thought fit to print it here entire, to the end you might run it over with the more ease; and that by the whole connexion and dependence (which mutilation spoils) you may the better consider the real Integritie I had, in putting out that true and submissive Vindication.

Apr. 20. 1668.

TO

ALL THE ROYALISTS that ſuffered for HIS MAJESTY:

AND

To all the reſt of the Good People of *ENGLAND.*

The Humble APOLOGIE of the *ENGLISH CATHOLICKS.*

My Lords and Gentlemen:

THE Arms which Chriſtians can uſe againſt Lawful Powers in their Severity, are only Prayers & Tears. Now ſince nothing can equal the infinity of thoſe we have ſhed, but the Cauſe, viz. *to ſee our deareſt Friends forſake us; we hope it will not offend you, if (after we have a little wip'd our eyes) we ſigh out our Complaints to you.*

We

We had ſpoken much ſooner, had we not been ſilent through conſternation, to ſee you ſo enſlam'd (whom with Reverence we honour) as alſo to ſhew our ſubmiſſive patience, which uſed no ſlights or tricks to divert the debates of Parliament. For no body can imagine, where ſo many of the great Nobility and Gentry are concern'd, but ſomething might have been done; whenas in all ages, we ſee things of Publick advantage by the Managers dexterity nipt in the bud, even in the very Houſes themſelves. Far be it from Catholicks to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of their Priviledges, and all Ancient Lawes. Nay, Magna Charta *it ſelf had its riſe from us; which we do the leſs boaſt of, ſince it was not at firſt obtained in ſo ſubmiſs and humble a manner.*

We ſung our Nunc dimittis, *when we ſaw our Maſter in his Throne, and you in your deſerved Authority and Rule: nor could any thing have ever grieved us more, than to have our Loyalty called into Queſtion by you, even at the inſtigation of our greateſt Adverſaries. If we muſt ſuffer, let it be by you alone: for that's a double death to men of Honour, to have their Enemies not onely Accuſers, but their inſulting Judges alſo. Theſe are they, that by beginning with us, murthered their Prince, and wounded you: And ſhall the ſame Method continue by your approbation? We are ſure you mean well, though their deſigne be wicked; But let it never be recorded in Story,*

that

that you forgot your often Vows to us, in joyning with them that have been the cause of so great calamity to the Nation.

Of all Calumnies against Catholicks, We have admired at none so much, as That their Principles are said to be inconsistent with Government, and they themselves thought ever prone to Rebellion.

My Lords and Gentlemen, *Had this been a new Sect not known before, something, perchance, might have been doubted: but to lay this at their doors, that have governed the Civilized World, is the Miracle of Miracles to us.*

Did Richard *the First, or* Edward Longshanks, *suspect their Catholicks that served in* Palestine, *and made our Countries Fame big in the Chronicle, of all Ages? Or did they mistrust in their dangerous absence their Subjects at home, because they were of this Profession? Could* Edward *the Third imagine those to be Traytorous in their Doctrine, who had that care and duty for their Prince, as to make them (by Statute) guilty of death in the highest degree, that had the least thought of ill against the King? Be pleased, that* Henry *the Fifth be remembred also, who did those Wonders, of which the whole World does still resound; and certainly all History will agree in this, that 'twas* Old Castle (*since Sainted*) *whom he feared, and not those who believed the Bishop of* Rome *to be Head of the Church. We will*

will no longer trouble you with putting you in minde of any more of our mighty Kings, who have been feared abroad, and as safe at home as any since the Reformation of Religion. We shall onely adde this, that if Popery be the enslaving of Princes, France *still believes it self as absolute as* Denmark, *or* Sweden: *nor will ever the House of* Austria *abjure the Pope, to secure themselves of the fidelity of their Subjects.*

We shall always acknowledge to the whole World, that there have been as many brave English *in this last Century, as in any other place what soever. Yet since the exclusion of the Catholick Faith, there has been that committed by those, who would be fain called Protestants, that the wickedest Papist never dreamt of. 'Twas never heard of before, that an absolute Queen was condemned by Subjects, and those stiled her Peers; or that a King was publickly tried and executed by his own people and servants.*

My Lords and Gentlemen, *We know who were the Authors of this last Abomination, and how generously you strove against the raging Torrent; nor have we any other ends to remember you of it, but to shew; that all Religions may have a corrupted spawn, and that God hath been pleased to permit such a Rebellion, which our Progenitors never saw, to convince you, perchance (whom for ever may he prosper) that Popery is not the only Source of Treason.*

Little

Little did we think (when your Prayers and ours were offered up to beg a Bleſſing on the Kings Affairs) ever to ſee that day, in which Carlos, Gifford, Whitgrave, *and the* Pendrels *ſhould be punished by our deſires for that Religion, which obliged them to ſave their forlorn Prince, and a ſtigmatized man (for his offences againſt King and Church) a chief promoter of it. Nay, leſs did we imagine, that by your Votes,* Hudleſtone *might be hanged, who again ſecured our Sovereign, and others free in their fat poſſeſſions, that ſat as Judges, and ſealed the Execution of that great Prince of happy Memory.*

We confeß, we are unfortunate, & you juſt Judges, whom with our lives we will ever maintain to be ſo; nor are we ignorant, the neceſſity of affairs made the King and you do things, which formerly you could not ſo much as fancy: yet give us leave to ſay: We are ſtill Loyal; nay, to deſire you to believe ſo, and to remember how ſynonymous (under the late Rebellion) was the word Papiſt *and* Cavalier; *for there was no Papiſt that was not deemed a Cavalier, nor no Cavalier that was not call'd a Papiſt, or at leaſt thought to be Popiſhly affected.*

We know, though we differ ſomething in Religion, (the truth of which let the laſt day judge) yet none can agree with your inclinations, or are fitter for your converſe than we; for as we have as much birth among us as England *can boaſt of,*

ſo

so our breeding leans your way both in Court and Camp; And therefore had not our late Sufferings united us in that firm tie, yet our like humors must needs have joyned our hearts. If we erre, pity our condition, and remember what your great Ancestors were; and make some difference between us that have twice converted England *from Paganism, and those other Sects that can challenge nothing but intrusion for their imposed Authority.*

But 'tis generally said. That Papists cannot live without persecuting all other Religions within their reach.

We confess, where the name of Protestant is unknown, the Catholick Magistrates (believing it erronious) do use all endeavours to keep it out: Yet those Countreys where Liberty is given, they have far more Priviledges than we under any Reformed Government whatsoever. To be short, we will only instance France *for all, where they have publick Churches, where they can make what Proselytes they please, and where 't is not against Law to be in any Charge or Employment. Now* Holland, *which permits every thing, gives us, 'tis true, our Lives and Estates, but takes away all Trust and Rule, and leaves us also in danger of the Scout, whensoever he plaeses to molest our Meetings.*

Because we have named France, *the Massacre will perchance be urged against us. But the*

World

World must know that was a Cabinet-Plot, condemned as wicked by Catholick Writers there, and of other Countries also. Besides, it cannot be thought they were murthered for being Protestants, since 'twas their powerful Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would) that drew them into that ill-machinated destruction.

May it not as well be said in the next Catholick Kings Reign, that the Duke of Guise, *and Cardinal (Heads of the League) were killed for their Religion also? Now no body is ignorant, that 't was their factious Authority, which made that jealous Prince design their deaths, though by unwarrantable means.*

If it were for Doctrine that the Hugonots *suffered in* France, *this haughty Monarch would soon destroy them now, having neither Force nor Towns to resist his Might and Puissance. They yet live free enough, being even Members of Parliament; and may convert the King's Brother too, if he think's fit to be so. Thus you may see how well Protestants live in a Popish Country, under a Popish* King: *Nor was* Charlemaign *more Catholick than this; for though he contends sometimes with the Pope, 'tis not of Faith, but about* Gallicane *Priviledges, which perchance he may very lawfully do.* Judge *then, Worthy Patriots, who are the best used, and consider our hardship here in* England, *where 'tis not only a Fine for hearing*

hearing Maß, but death to the Maſter, for having a Prieſt in his houſe; and ſo far we are from preferment, that by Law we connot come within ten miles of London; all which we know your great Mercy will never permit you to exact.

But the objections is, That our miſdemeanours in Queen Elizabeths and King James's time, were the cauſe of our punishment.

We earneſtly wish the Party had had more patience under that Princeſs: But pray conſider (though we excuſe not their faults) whether it was not a Queſtion harder than that of York and Lancaſter (the cauſe of a War of ſuch length, and death of ſo many Princes) who had moſt right, Queen Elizabeth or Mary Stuart. For ſince the whole Kingdom had crowned and ſworn Allegeance to Queen Mary, they owned her as the legitimate daughter to Henry the Eighth: and therefore 'twas thought neceſſarily to follow by many, that if Mary was the true Child, Elizabeth was the Natural, which muſt needs give way to the thrice noble Queen of Scots. 'Twas for the Royal Houſe of Scotland 'that they ſuffered in thoſe days, and 'tis for the ſame illuſtrious Family we are ready to hazard all on any occaſion. Nor can the conſequence of the former procedure be but ill, if a Henry the Eighth (whom Sir W. Rawleigh and my Lord Cherbury, two famous Proteſtants, have ſo homely characterized)

should

should after twenty years co-habitation, turn away his Wife, and this out of ſcruple of Conſcience (as he ſaid) when as Hiſtory declares, that he never ſpared woman in his luſt, nor man in his lawleſſe fury.

Now for the Fifth *of* November, *with hands lifted up to Heaven, we abominate and deteſt, and from the bottom of our hearts, ſay, may they fall into irrevocable perdition, who propagate that Faith by the blood of Kings, which is to be planted in Truth and Meekneſs only. But let it not diſpleaſe you* (Men, Brethren, and Fathers) *if we ask whether* Ulyſſes *be no better known? or who has forgot the Plots of* Cromwel, *framed in his Cloſet, not only to deſtroy many faithful Cavaliers: but alſo to put a luſtre upon his intelligence, as if nothing could be done without his knowledge? Even ſo did the then great Miniſter, who drew ſome few ambitious men, into this conjuration, and then diſcovered it by a Miracle. This will eaſily appear, viz. how little the Catholique Party underſtood the deſign, ſeeing there were not a ſcore of guilty found, though all imaginable induſtry was uſed by the Commons, Lords, and Privy Councel too. But ſuppoſe* (My Lords and Gentlemen, *which never can be granted*) *that all the Papiſts of that age were conſenting, Will you be ſo ſevere then to ſtill punish the Children for their Fathers faults? Nay, ſuch Children that ſo unanimouſly joyned with you in that glo-*

rious

rious Quarrel, wherein you and we underwent such sufferings, that needs we must have all sunk, had not our mutual love assisted.

What have we done, that we should now deserve your Anger? Has the Indiscretion of some few incenst you? 'Tis true, that is the thing Objected.

Do not you know an Enemy may easily mistake a Maß-Bell, for that which calls to Dinner: or a Sequestrator be glad to be affronted being Constable, when 'twas the hatred to his person, and not present Office, which perchance egg'd a rash man to folly. We dare with submission say, let a publick Invitation be put up against any Party whatsoever, nay, against the Reverend Bishops themselves, and some malicious Informer or other will alledge that which may be far better to conceal. Yet all mankind by a Manifesto on the House door are encouraged to accuse us; Nor are they upon Oath, though your Enemies and ours take all for granted and true.

It cannot be imagined, where there are so many men of heat and youth (overjoy'd with the happy Restauration of their Prince, and remembring the Insolencies of the former Grādees) that they should all, at all times prudently carry themselves; for this would be to be more than men: And truly we esteem it as a particular blessing, that God has not suffer'd us, through vanitie or frailty, to fall into greater faults, than are yet, as we understand, laid to our charge.

Can

Can We chooſe but be diſmay'd ſeing (When all things fail) extravagant Crimes are fathered on us? It is We that muſt be the Authors, ſome ſay, of firing the Citie, even We that have loſt ſo vaſtly by it. Yet truly in this our Ingenuity is great, ſince We think it no Plot, though our Enemie, a Hugonot *Proteſtant, acknowledged the fact, and Was juſtly executed for his vain Confeſſion. Again, if a Merchant of the Church of* England *buy Knives for the buſineſs of his Trade, this alſo preſenly is a Popish contriuance to deſtroy the Wel-affected.*

We muſt a little complain, finding it by experience, that becauſe you diſcountenance us, the people rage: and again, becauſe they rage, We are the more forſaken by you, Aſſured We are, that our Converſation is affable, and our Houſes ſo many hoſpitable Retreats to our Neighbours. Our Acquaintance therefore We fear at no time, but it is the ſtranger We dread (that taking all on hear ſay) zealouſly Wounds, and then examines the buſineſs When 'tis too late, or is perchance confirmed by another, that knoWs no more of us than he himſelf.

Tis to you We muſt make our application, beſeeching you (as Subjects tender of our King) to intercede for us, and Weigh the Dilemma, *Which doubtleſs he is in, either to deny ſo good a Parliament their requeſt, or elſe run counter to his Royal inclinations When he puniſhes the weak and harmleſs*

Why

Why may not we Noble Countrymen hope for Favour from you, as wel as the French Protestants *find it from theirs, A greater duty than ours none could expreſs, we are ſure? Or why ſhould the* United Provinces, *and other Magiſtrates (that are harsh both in mind and manners) refrain from violence againſt our Religion, and your tender breaſts ſeem not to harbour the leaſt compaſſion or pity? Theſe neighboring people ſequeſter none for their Faith, but for tranſgreſſion againſt the State, Nor is the whole party involved in the crime of a few, but every man ſuffers for his own proper fault. Do you then be like, and he that offends let him die without mercy, and think always (we beſeech you) of* Cromwels *Injuſtice, who for the actions of ſome againſt his pretended Laws, drew thouſands into Decimation (even ignorant of the thing) after they had vaſtlie paid for their ſecuritie and quiet.*

We have no ſtudie but the Glory of our Soveraign, and juſt Libertie of the Subjects; nor was it a mean argument of our dutie, when every Catholique Lord gave his voice for the Reſtauration of Bishops, by which we could pretend no other advantage, but that 26 Votes ſubſiſting wholly by the Crown were added to the defence of Kingship, and conſequently a check to all Anarchy and Confuſion.

'Tis morally impossible, but that we, who approve of Monarchy in the Church, must ever be fond of it in the State also: Yet this is a misfortune we now plainly feel, that the longer the late Transgressors live, the more forgotten are their crimes, whilst distance in time calls the faults of our Fathers to remembrance, and buries our own Allegeance in eternal Oblivion and Forgetfulness.

My Lords and Gentlemen, *Consider we beseech you, the sad condition of the* Irish *Souldiers now in* England, *the worst of which Nation could be but intentionallie so wicked, as the acted villanie of many* English, *whom your admired Clemencie pardoned. Remember how they left the* Spanish *service when they heard their King was in* France; *and how they forsook the employment of that unkind Prince, after he had committed that infinitely ill act, of banishing his distressed Kinsman out of his Dominions. These poor men left all again to bring their Monarch to his home, and shall they then be forgotten by You? Or shall my Lord* Douglas *and his brave* Scots *be left to their shifts, who scorn'd to receive Wages of those that had declared War against* England?

How commonly is it said, that the Oath of renouncing their Religion is intended for these? Which will needs bring this loss to the King

King and you, that either you will force all of our Faith to lay down their Arms (though by experience, of great integrity and worth) or else, if some few you retain, they are such, whom necessity has made to swear against Conscience, and who therefore will certainly betray you, when a greater advantage shall be offered. By this test then, you can have none but whom with caution you ought to shun; and thus must you drive away those that truly would serve you; for had they the least thought of being false, they would gladly take the advantage of gain and pay to deceive you.

We know your wisdom and generosity; and therefore cannot imagine such a thing. Nor do we doubt when you shew favour to these, but you will use mercy to us, who are both fellow-Subjects; and your owne flesh and blood also. If you forsake us, we must needs say, the world decays, and its final transmutation will quickly follow, since there is no more relying on Mankind.

Little do you think the Insolencies we shall suffer by Committee men, &c. whom chance and lot has put into petty power. Nor will it choose but grieve you, to see them abused (whom formerly you loved) even by the Common Enemy of us both. When they punish, how will they triumph and say; Take this (poor Romanists)

for your love to Kingship; and again, this for your long doating on the Royal Party; all which you shall receive from us, Commissioned by your dearest friends, and under this cloak we will gladly vent our private spleen and malice.

We know, My Lords and Gentlemen, *that from your hearts you deplore our condition; yet permit us to tell you, your bravery must extend thus far, as not to sit still with pity only, but each is to labour for the distressed, as far as in reality his ability will reach: some must beseech our Gracious Soveraign for us, others must again undeceive the Good, though deluded Multitude; Therefore all are to remember who are the prime Raisers of the Storm, and how through our sides they would wound both the KING and You; for though their hatred to our selves is great, yet the enmity out of all measure encreases, because We have been yours (and so shall continue) even in the fiery day of trial.*

Protect us we entreat you then upon all your former Promises, or if that be not sufficient for the sakes of those that lost their Estates with you; many of which are now fallen asleep. But if this be still too weak, we must conjure you by the sight of this Bloody Catalogue, which contains the Names of your murthered Friends and Relations, who in

the

the heat of Battail, saved perchance many of your Lives, even with the joyful loss of their own.

The *END* of the *APOLOGY.*

Here follow'd the Catalogue of Names which now is at the end of the Book.

Novemb. 11. 1666.

A material Advertiſement to the Reader, both concerning the Anſwerer of the Apology, *and the Method of this* Reply.

READER,

ABout the middle of *Novem.* 1666. when our known Enemies, & the Kingdoms alſo, had after the late dreadfull, & unparallel'd Fire not only enflam'd the Parliament, but ſeveral worthy and well-meaning Perſons, I put out this ſincere Apology. The Reaſons therein (having nothing but truth and reality in them) ſatisfied many: for every body of themſelves ſaw there was no ground, and moſt confeſt, they were diſordered becauſe they ſaw others ſo. 'Twas after *Chriſtmas* before I left *London*; and truly, I ſuppos'd that if any body could be ſo malitiouſly impertinent, as by an Anſwer to cavil at ſo innocent a thing, he would have done it in two moneths, it being but a sheet of Paper againſt which he was to write: and then (being neer at hand

hand) I should have been as quick in my Reply. But though the worthy Answerer took much more time for his solid Piece, yet in the interval, mine was egregiously confuted: Nor was ever *Gonvil's* plain Testament so tore and repiec'd as this Pamphlet, by the wise and numerous Assailants. One said, that the whole thing was harmless and reasonable, but that *Magna Charta seemed to be struck at.* His fellow answered, that *Magna Charta* was *Magna Farta*, and of it self Popish; and that all was well, *had not Queen Elizabeth been abused.* To this a third answered, that *Q. Elizabeth* was now no more to them then *William Rufus*, or any former issueless Prince, and all that was said was out of Protestant History; but the only thing he blamed was, *that the fifth of Nov.* (which was still a Festival) *was defamed, and consequently they themselves jeer'd at in their Annual observation.* At him another presently laugh'd, and askt, whether any people ever reverenc'd a Solemnity against themselves: for his own part, he cared not whether the Papists were guilty or not, let them look to that; therefore he was sufficiently satisfied with the Apology, *had the Catalogue been omitted of those that died in the War*: for by it, it seemed, as if the whole Royal Army were Papists, because so many Popish Officers, and men of great Condition, were killed

killed in that Service. To this a Neighbour said, that he knew many more of the Party, then were mentioned, that thus died, & that it was hard, that so cheap a recõpence should be denied men for their lives: but the sole thing which he stumbled at was, *The timing & publication of it.* Against whom the whole Company concluded, *that if ever the time was fit, 't was then when the flame appeared, and that 't would have been ridiculous to Apologize, when there was no stir or clamour.* Thus have I been vindicated by my Reprehenders, and thus have I both read and seen in matters of Religion, where the several Antagonists have solved the Popish difficulties themselves.

After *Christmas*, as (I said before) I not only went out of Town, but have ever since been many score of miles distant from it, which is the cause I saw not this Answer so soon as otherwise, I should have done: at last it was sent me by a Protestant Gentleman who had seen the Apology before it was printed. When I had read it, I began to admire, not only at the malice of the thing, but also at the weakness of the Writer, that thus needlessly took up the Cudgels. Who the Author is, to this day I know not; nor has he been willing perchance to owne himselfe, having shown here so little either of Judgment or Principles.

For

For had he been a Royaliſt, he would have had more Gratitude and good Nature, than to have forgotten faithful friends in a ſtorm, and added (as he hoped) fuel to the flame, when we were under [illegible]pattre'd by enemies to us both. Nor was there any drift in the Apology, but to ſettle a Diſtemper, raiſed without either cauſe or reaſon.

A Presbyterian I can never think him, becauſe they being men of *Depth* and *Prudence*, know that the effects of their crying againſt Papiſts in 1640. are too freſh in memory; nor can it be an advantage for them to haraſs mens Conſciences, while their own are within the reach of Law.

I can alſo as little fancy that an Independent, or any real member of that many-headed Body, could ſoberly by writing, wish a Perſecution for Religion, being themſelves obnoxious upon all accounts; and if ſeverity ſhould univerſally fall, they cannot imagine but that men of Birth, men of Breeding, & men of Loyalty, muſt needs at all times find more friends than they. Who he is, God knows, a man of Principles (as I ſaid) I fear He is not; & though he has call'd me *Jeſuit, Turke, no Lover of my Countrey*, & the like, as you ſhall ſee by & by, yet all the harme, I wish him is, That God would touch his heart and make him ſenſible of his many

many wilfull Errors & Misdeeds.

Reader, When I received this Anſwer, both by my Letters and Friends neer me, I was perſwaded not to reply, becauſe it had no real force in it ſelf, nor had, as I was then told any applauſe at *London*. Upon this information I could not do otherwiſe than deſiſt; but now lately I have been awak'd by a new occaſion. I had ſome days ago ſent me a Pamphlet, called, *A Diſcourſe of the Religion of England*; a ſimpler thing was never yet writ, I am ſure; and take this for a proof, among many hundred of his ſilly things viz. *That Holland, Scotland*, and *Geneva* brought in the Reformed Religion without Rebellion. Seven Chapters of this Treatiſe are againſt Papiſts, and all taken out of the *Anſwerer of the Apology*: therefore ſince I find it has weight in the opinion of one, leaſt more weak Brethren ſhould fall, I thought fit to take ſome pains thus to remove the cauſe.

I was forced to go the inſipid way of Section by Section, well knowing that ſome people not finding the Solution to follow the Objection, would ſooner hæſitate and doubt. Inſipid, I call this Method, becauſe there is no art or contrivance in it; nor is it poſſible but the beſt Reply in the World muſt be then frigidly ſtiff, when the Adverſary in the

the Paragraph has no Spirit in him. I have not Printed the Answer *verbatim*, for that would be too tedious, but have so contracted it, that I challenge the Author himself to find any thing left out, that might have added force to the Argument. The Books I use in all necessary Proofs & Citations, are all of them rigid & kown Protestant, except *Davila*, an Author infinitly admir'd & commeded by learned Men of the Reformed Religion: nor do I quote him, unless it be, about the Rebellion of the *French Hugonots*, of which He was for the most part an Eye-witnesse; but their Actions are so notorious that *D. Heylyn* himselfe, that second *Hannibal*, & sworne Enemy of *Rome*, has made them yet more horrid & abominable.

I must needs say, I have had no little trouble in this Composition, fearing the Bulk would be voluminous: for by Nature I hate superfluities and alwayes strive to crowd my matter into the narrowest room I am able. In this Work I had still the disgustful vexation, how to omit, and yet be still intelligible; For I dare affirm, had I writ all I could upon this Subject, and followed to the utmost the digressions of the Answerer, my *Reply* would have swolen to the bigness of any *Folio* extant. I have nevertheless past by nothing material; and hope this *Octavo* (which is no large

large one) will be both useful and satisfactory to you, since it contains *the Whole accusation in practice, charged upon the English Catholicks*; nor do I urge any thing but what I prove (as I said before) out of a violent *Protestant*, or by a natural deduction from it, which I hope is no foul Play, *Adieu.*

Apr. 20. 1668.

Concerning the present Additions.

AS *you have understood*, Reader, *by the foregoing Advertisement, both the Cause & Method of this Treatise, so 'twill not be amisse to hear what has since happen'd, and the Occasion also of the present Additions*; *Nor shall I ever* (*God willing*) *hereafter omit this candid & satisfactory way of Proceeding*; *for doubtlesse the understanding of time & circumstances is often a great helpe even to the judging of the Dispute it selfe.*

Be pleas'd then to know, that in Apr. 68. *I sent the* Reply *to be printed at* London, *but just as it was finish'd, most part of it was seis'd upon* (*as the Workman since confes't*) *by the dexterity of my Adversary, who thought this to be the safest and easiest way of Rejoining*; *neither is it hard to guesse, how he would have vaunted of his* Answer, *had I not presently order'd a Reimpression beyond Sea, which before the end of the yeare, was publicly sold in* London; *& has*

else

also continu'd to this day uncontrol'd, though Anno 71. D. Stillingfleet, *in his* Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, *thought fit to acquaint us,* 'That shortly we were to expect, from my worthy Adversary, a more accurate Examination of these things. *ep.* 346

And now, who could do otherwise than assure himself of an absolute Overthrow of my Reply, *since my Adversary had spent so much time about it, & that the successe also of his long labours, was already proclam'd by a Herald of so much note & credit. But nothing was lesse intended, & all this great noise ended in an Artifice,* viz. *To take no notice of what had been proved in behalfe of Catholiques; but to repeat a fresh, in some ordinary new method, the old* Scandals *& Calumnies; as if nothing had, or ever could be said against them; for 't was hop'd that Many had never seen these* Answers, *& that Others by length of time, had clean forgot the force of them; and because falsities without a favorable conjuncture, can never take effect, this* accurate, *and much* expected *Worke, was prepared against the Session of Parliament in Feb.* 72. *a time in which most men believ'd there would be Heates & Debates about Religion. The title of it was* A Seasonable Discourse, Shewing the necessity of maintaining the establish'd Religion in Opposition to Popery, *But not a word in the whole thing, that had not been directly answer'd in the* Reply, *except*

cept 2. *or* 3. Political Observations, *to prove*; Popery dangerous to Kings in Particular, & to the whole Nation in General; *Nay He was so candid and sincere with his Readers, as to quote passages, out of the* Answer to the Catholique Apology, *as a piece full of weight & Authority.*

As soon as I saw the Pamphlet, I presently judg'd the Author to be my Adversary; not only by D. Stillingfleet's *former alarme, but by the stile & strange virulency of it; nor was this my single opinion, but theirs too who desir'd me to answer it, which (for all the unfitnesse of the place where I resided) was little trouble to me, having already treated on that Subject; And as to the* Politiques, *what English man could deem them of the least force, since our Countrey had never that Renown in the World, as when it was Popish, & no Christian Princes are so absolute and glorious, even at this Day as the Catholique.*

The Answer *then was soon ready, but had thus far the Fate of the* Reply, *as to have* 2. *sheets of the* 3. *that it contain'd taken in the Presse; yet*
1673: *notwithstanding, by the* 28. *of the same* March *it was again ready, & past the greatest part of this yeare, according to it's Title, for a* Full Answer & Confutation of the laid Seasonable Discourse; *only* D. Stillingfleet, *in his Worke against* Several Treatises occasioned, by his Book concerning the Idolatry in the Church

Church of Rome, *was pleas'd to pick a quarrel with a Parentheſis; but he'l find perchance he has been a little too rash, in this ſo ſought for a pretence,* or querelle d'Alman, *as I may well call it; eſpecially ſince our Diſpute is about Germany; & upon my word, it ſhall coſt him, before we part, more labour to diſengage himſelfe, than He once imagin'd. I ſay my Anſwer continued as a* full Confutation *of my Adverſary's Libel for the greateſt part of this yeare,* to wit, *'till the latter end of October laſt, & then came out its* Reaſonable Defence *againſt the ſitting of the Parliament; & becauſe he would ever show himſelfe a* Polititian, *He choſe that time as moſt convenient for his deſignes, which were,* To adde Oyl (if poſſible) to the Fire; To appeare with more aſſurance among ſome Patrons, by ſtill aſſerting the Cauſe; *& laſtly,* To eſcape the Stricter Examination of many, who (if the *Houſe* ſhould be ſevere) would he knew diſgeſt any thing, that could be invented againſt us.

Now Reader, *the Book I here preſent you with is, as you ſee, the* 3. Edition *of the* Reply, *which* (becauſe it contain's, *as I ſaid,* an Anſwer to all the Calumnies as to matter of Fact, that ever yet were urg'd by our enemies) *is a full* Confutation, *both to the* Seaſonable Diſcourſe *& it's late* Defence. *But that my Adverſary may have no pretences* (*and truly his*

Cauſe

Cause need's them) *that these his Books are not directly answer'd, I have made many particular* Additions *in relation to them, & not only incorporated here the summe of my* former Answer to the Seasonable Discourse, *but inserted also all the Objections & Arguments in the* Defence *it selfe. And to the end, the* Curious *or* Impatient *may readily find the Solution, even to the least charge or insinuation, I have added an ample* Index, *and besides at the end of this Treatise, made a particular Recapitulation of Whatsoever is in the said* Defence: *so that the* Answer *presently follows, or the Section of the* Reply *is cited, to which one may turne, with all the readinesse imaginable; and thus wee shall at last see the force of his ingenious & ingenuous Ergo's, & consequently how much a man with out examination may rely (as I mention'd before) on his word & Logick. The* Index *also will lead One to my Respects & Service to* D. Stillingfleet, *who has been pleas'd unprovok'd, not only to attaque me about the* Treaty of Munster, *but to have a fling at me in his last* a Gun-powder Treason
a 1673. Sermon; *which after we have examin'd, the Protestant Readers will plainly finde that all that is said in the Pulpit is not* Gospel. *But of this more in it's proper place; & so Courteous Reader* Fare well, *till another such occasion shall awake me.*

Feb. 8. 1673.

THE REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE CATHOLICK APOLOGY.

THe Title which my Adversary the Anti-Apologist has prefixt to his Worke, is *The late Apology in behalf of the Papists reprinted, and answered in behalf of the Royalists.* Now I beseech you, *Reader* (having read the *Apology* through) what injury has any good man done him by it? Besides, how extravagant is the beginning? for to write against *Papists* in Vindication of the *Royalists*, is like the *defending of King Charles, by the opposing of Charles Stuart.* Did not the Protestants and Catholiks make up one Body, *viz.* the

Royal Party? I feare, they that distinguish them at present, hate both not a little, and would willingly divide them, in hopes to weaken the *King*, and put the whole Kingdom into new Confusions. He therefore that thus begins with such an undutifull Intention, can never without doubt end as He should.

Thus much, Reader *for his* odde Title; *& now be pleas'd to know, that the following Paragraph is the first* Section *of the* Apology, *as 'twas divided by my Adversary, & judg'd more convenient & ready for your service, to be here reprinted, thanby* Figures *to refer you to the entire one it selfe. The second Paragraph is the summe of my Adversarys* Answer *to the said Section, & the last is my* Reply; *which Method continues to the end.*

1. SECTION of the APOLOGY.

The Arms which Christians can use against Lawful Powers in their Severity, are onely *Prayers* and *Tears*. Now since nothing can equal the infinity of those we have shed, but the Cause, *viz.* To see our dearest Friends forsake us; we hope it will not offend you, if (after we have a little wip'd our eyes) we sigh out our Complaints to you.

1. Answer.

The Anti-Apologist directs his Answer to the Author

Author of the Apology, *and saysthus tothe foregoing words: That in the Conſpiracy, of* Babington *againſt* Q. Elizabeth, *as'tis in* Camden, *ſuch a Declaration was made by Papiſts about* Prayers *and* Tears, *to palliate the matter, & make their Governours more ſecure of them; that the expreſſion* infinity of tears *is extravagantly ſaid, and the ſence more applicable to* Q. Maries *days, the* Irish *Rebellion, or our own fabulous Purgatory. But we* Jeſuites, *whether ranting, or whining, cannot ſpeak like other men.*

1. *Reply.*

Is not this great malice *Reader*, to make a parity between them who conſidered *Queen Elizabeth* as an Uſurper, & Us that in words & ſufferings acknowlege, That never any Prince had a more unqueſtionable Right than ours. I have already shew'd you in the Preface (& will yet do it further hereafter) our ſad caſe in the beginning of the Reformation, as alſo in Queen Elizabeth time; & certainly, our Loyalty to our Proteſtant Princes, (even by the publick Declarations of *Charles* the 1. & 2.) is ſo apparently & undeniably great, that it is as probable the *Heptarchy* may be renewed, or the *Welsh* rebell (which were high folly but to imagine) as that Diſorders or Tumults should

again be occasion'd by the Catholiques.

Concerning the Irish Rebellion & Massacre.

Concerning the *Irish Rebellion*, I never so much as once mentioned it in the *Apology*, believing there could not be found a man so inhumane, that would charge a thing upon us, which for 26. yeares together We were all acknowledg'd clear of, though the late Kings Enemies had made strict Inquisition about it: & every body know's they wanted nor will, (had there been the least probability) to make us Partizans in all such detestable & odious contrivancies. Twas evident the English Catholicks abhorred it, that several fought against the Rebels, that we all decried their Proceedings; nor did I ever hear of any of our Party in the least excuse the Fact; though to my knowlege, Protestants have often done it to the purpose.

But since We of England are now continually taxt, or at least twitted with this *Rebellion*; & perchance, to increase the hatred of all Protestants against us, the Ravage was represented the greater; or being at first (for other advantages & designs) exaggerated, 'tis still thought the fitter Crime to load us withall; I say, seing this, & that the noise of the ills here committed, make many the more persevering in their groundless Defamations, than otherwise, I am confident, they would be, I must therfor upon necessity a little examine

mine, what blood has been ſpilt, & dammage done in that Inſurrection; as alſo how far the *Irish* of the *Pale*, (I meane thoſe of the *old English Race*) contributed to it. Nor will I in this my *Survey*, run to any Friends, or partial Witneſſes, but to the known Enemies of Popery, which is the method, I intend, all along, when any great matter of Fact (as I ſaid) is to be handled by me.

As for the number of the Murther'd, the common Calculation amount's to 3. *hundred thouſand English Proteſtants*, as may be ſeen in ſeveral old Relations; nay the Author of the [a] *Preſent State of Ireland*, with the addition of thoſe that were *expell'd out of their Habitations*, has to a hair, the very ſame *reckoning*; & truly the moſt moderate one I have yet ſeen, is that of my *Lord Orrery*, who ſay's according to my Adverſarys quotation in his [b] *Seaſonable Diſcourſe*; *That the Papiſts in a Few Moneths Cut the throat of* 200. *thouſand innocent Proteſtants*; all which accounts *Reader* are ſo far from being probable, that they are abſolutly impoſſible in them ſelves.

[a] p. 144

[b] *Seaſ. Diſc. p.* 30. *L. Orrery. p.* 29

For *firſt* Suppoſe *Ireland* in it's prime (*to wit* before the late war) might contain 2. *millions* of Inhabitants, as this [c] *Obſerver* ſeem's to believe; Though doubtleſſe this *Eſtimat* is far too great a one, ſeing *England*, (a place twice as big, & proportionably twice as

[c] *State of Irel. p.* 146.

populous as all men allow) has not 5. *millions* and a halfe: for so *D. Chamberlain* in his judicious and usefull [a] Book tells us. But had our Nation 6 *millions*, according to one of the conjectures of the worthy *Major Grant* in his most ingenious [b] *Observations* on the *Bills* of *Mortality*, still *Ireland* would want 5. *hundred thousand* of the forementioned 2. *millions*. Yet notwithstanding all this, (& that very knowing Protestants have assur'd me that 13. *hundred thousand* were the out side) I will for once admit the larger computation, that my Adversary may have more advantage & elbow room.

[a] *State of Engl. pag.* 56.

[b] *Obser. Bil. Mor parag.* 3. *pag.* 87.

In the next place, let us consider the present State of this Kingdom, & if we take away 2. or 3. *thousand* men in whose hands the Government is (I meane the chief offices of Trust and Profit) & 4. or 5. *thousand* Clergymen with a fit allowance, for their Wives, there will hardly be found *one* in *ten* a Protestant; which then makes the number of Protestants not to be yet above 2. *hundred thousand* in all; & out of these, at least a quarter being deducted for the *Scotch Colonies*, the *English* of the reformed Faith will scarce now amount to a *hundred and* 50 *thousand*; wheras formerly before the *Banishments*, *Transplantation*, and infinite *Slaughters* of the *Irish*, the Popish Party was exceedingly

ceedingly more numerous than this Proportion, & the other Religions lesse; for during the last 30. yeares (by reason of the wonderfull prey) there came more Planters out of *England* hither, than God knows in how many Ages before: so that upon the whole I dare affirme, That there could not be in *Ireland* 120. *thousand* English Protestants, when the *Rebellion* broke out.

In the last place, Let us consider, (as the aforesaid Author also has it) [a] *That the most bloody Executions were made in Ulster*; a Quarter (as every body knows) where the *old Irish* had not only their chiefest power & Strength, but where the *Scotch* also were, for the most part, all seated; so that our Countrey men, had there comparatively few Plantations; but had they been as thick here as in other Places (& herein there was no proportion) their number could not then have exceeded 24. *thousand* Inhabitants, there being 5. Provinces in this Kingdom. Yet in all the printed Narrations, we finde *That many were protected from the present fury of the Rebels* in *London-Derry Colraine, & Eniskilling* (for these were in the hands of the English, as [b] *Sanderson* tell's us) *That Droves came dayly to Dublin partly by Flight, & partly by Permission, & that many more got safe to other places of* Refuge. In short then, after well reflecting on the

[a] *Pref. Stat. of Irel. p.* 128

[b] *Sand. Ch.* 1. *p.*440.

the Premiſes, who can imagine that 3. *thouſand English Proteſtants* were here deſtroyed, which is a pretty difference, from 3. *hundred thouſand*, the uſual computation as I ſaid; for as to the Slaughter done elſe where, twas not comparable to what happened in this Province, as all Writers unanimouſly agree. And truly 'tis a great confirmation to me, that my calculation is not very extravagant, ſeing *Anno*
Ep. 145 1641. (as the ſaid „ *Preſent State of Ireland*, who is ſo ſevere againſt Papiſts, affirmes) *There was an enquiry made of the loſſes ſuſtaind in Eſtates, Fortunes, & Livelihoods, by Spoil or Robbery, from* the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, viz. *from the* 23. *Oct. to the* 8. *of Mar. following*, (which by the way Reader was the time of the chiefeſt Ruine & Deſtruction) *& the Eſtimation amounted to leſſe than* 66. *hundred &* 40. *thouſand* pounds: which
b viz. 635378. *pound.* is not, perhaps ſo much as ſome Streets in *London* ſuffer'd, in the late dreadfull *Fire*. Now becauſe the ſaid valuation is thought too little, let any one ſeriouſly conſider it, & (though a right information could not be taken) 'twill be found in all probability, rather to exceed the real truth, than otherwiſe; ſeing the before mentioned *Inquiſition*, was both order'd and executed, by the *Engliſh* themſelves, whoſe loſſes & mighty Injuries, did exaſperate them in the higheſt degree

againſt

againſt the *Iriſh*. Beſides, t'is not only the nature of all Enemies to amplify, (as We already ſee it happen's *de facto*, in the very computation of the Slain) but it was here a piece of *Policy* to do it; ſince the higher the Pity of all the People of *England* were rais'd, the ſooner Succour would be ſent, & their charitable Contributions would be the greater alſo. This then aſſures me that the Dammage exceeded not the forementioned ſumme, & if ſo, it corroborates (as I ſaid) my former Aſſertion; becauſe if thoſe great numbers (which all Accounts tell us, eſcapt in the beginning, & the ſhoals that came over into *England* witneſſe) were ruined in their Fortunes; & if thoſe that were murthered loſt too what they had, it muſt needs follow (the whole waſte & ſpoil over all *Ireland*, being, Wee ſee comparatively little) that then *the Murther'd were not very many*; For where ſoever great ſtore of People are kill'd in their Habitations by Robbers, the loſſe in their Eſtates, & goods muſt be alſo great. But Reader, before I proceed, I muſt tell you, that by leſſening thus the ordinary wild Cõputation, I do by no meanes leſſen the Crime; for from my Heart, I abominate the Action, & thinke, that if the blood of the leaſt Child, had been in this manner ſpilt, it ought to have bin punish'd with great Severity: I ſay, I leſſen not

at

at all the Crime, but because We in *England* suffer by the false Reports, that have bin made, I thought my selfe obliged to give you these conjectural Proofs, which I am sure cannot much vary (if they do at all) from the Truth.

Now concerning the first Contrivers of the *Rebellion*, 't'is granted they were the *old Irish*; & though many of the *antient English Colonies* were at last involv'd, yet, perchance, no History can show a Case of Treason, more worthy of Compassion than theirs, according to the Opinion of not a few judicious Protestants.

For *first*, They *had alwayes bin faithfull, in all the Invasions of Spain, or Sollicitations* of the *Pope* himselfe, as the [a] *Bishop* of *Armagh* acknowledg'd in his *Speech*, at the *Councel board*; nor did ever People that ran astray returne with more cordiality; as appear's by their unanimous asserting the Quarrel of the late King, & following their present Monarch in all his Affliction & Misery. Moreover, when they were not yet in Armes but had declar'd unanimously (after their wonted Zeal) against the *Natives*, whose Rage & *Malice* was alwayes great against the very Race of the *English*, as all our Writes affirme; & so infinitly now increast that the [b] *Present State of Ireland* tell's us; *That they could*

[a] *Sanderson. K. Ch. 1 pag. 68*

[b] *present State of Ir. pag. 126. & 128.*

not

not endure the very ſound of the language, or the Engliſh names of Places, & that as ſome did expreſſe, *They reſolv'd to leave them neither Name nor Poſterity in Ireland, killing in many places even Cowes & Sheep, & cutting off their legs, & pieces of their Buttocks, only becauſe they were English*; I ſay, when the old English Colonies, were not yet in Armes, the Endeavours of many powerfull Proteſtants in both Kingdomes, (who proved afterwards as no body, can deny the Kings greateſt Enemies) were to drive them by Threats & Severityes in to this Confederation alſo. But leaſt the Artifices of private men, ſhould not be ſufficient, our unhappy *long Parliament* compleated the Worke; for no ſooner came the newes of the Inſurrection of the ſaid *Natives*, but they voted, at it is in [a] *Sanderſon*, & in the *Continuation* alſo of [b] *Baker*, *That all the Papiſts of Quality in England ſhould be ſecur'd*: & what could in probability more alarme the Lords & Gentry of *Ireland* & aſſure them, that if the natural *English*, that had never any Correſpondence with them, ſhould, even in *England*, be both ſuſpected and moleſted, needs then muſt all the terrifying Rumours, which were already bruited, be executed upon them who might with ſome probability, be thought to have had a hand in this buiſineſſe. Nor did the Incendiaries

[a] *Sand.* K. Ch. 1 p. 444.
[b] *Bak.* p. 540.

ſtop

stop here; for by an Order of the *House*, as
a *Bak.* the said a *Baker* has it, *The Lords* Dillon &
p. 540. Taff, *were seised upon at* Ware, *who were delegated by the Lords of the* Irish Parliament, *with their Advice to his Majesty, concerning the readiest meanes to quench the present Flame. Nay they openly insisted* (at is it in the *famous History*
b *Hist.* of *Independency*) *to have the Papists in Ireland*
Indep.p. *rooted ont, & their lands sold, & passing an Act*
201. *to that Purpose necessitated*, (as he says) *the* Irish *Papists, to massacre the English Protestants.*

But why should I stay so long upon the particulars of the Intrigues to tempt & provoke these poor men to do ill, & consequently to involve the late glorious King in more Troubles, since he himselfe who knew all that had passed, & no friend to the Popish Doctrine, tells us.

c *Em.* „ That 'tis thought by many wise men
Basil. „ that the prepostrous *Rigour* & *unreasonable*
cap. 12. „ *Severity* which some men carried before
parag. 8 „ them in *England*, was not the least Incentive
pag. 63. „ &c; Nay in the 11. Paragraph of the same
d *p.* 64. d Chapter, this wise & mercifull Prince, speaks yet fuller, *viz.* „ That next to the sin „ of those that began that *Rebellion*, theirs „ must needs be, who either hindred the „ speedy suppressing of it by domestique „ Dissensions, or diverted the Aids, or *exasperated* the *Rebels*, to [the most *desperate*

Resolu-

„ *Resolutions* & *Actions*, by threatning all Ex-
„ tremities, not only to the known Heads, &
„ chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole
„ Community of that Nation; *resolving to*
„ *destroy Root & Branch, Men, Women &*
„ *Children*, without any regard to those usual
„ pleas for Mercy, which Conquerors, not
„ wholly barbarous are wont to hear from
„ their own breasts, in the behalfe of those,
„ whose oppressive Faces, rather than their
„ Malice engaged them; or whose imbecil-
„ lity for sex & age was such, as they could
„ neither lift up a hand against them, nor
„ distinguish between their Right & their
Left: & morover. [a] „ That some kind of zeal [a] par. 1. pag. 65.
„ counts all mercifull Moderation, Luke-
„ warmnesse, & had rather be cruel, than
„ counted cold, & is not seldome *more greedy*
„ *to kill the Bear for his skin, than for any harme*
„ *He hath done*: The *confiscation* of *mens Estates*
„ *being more beneficial, than the Charity of*
„ *Saving their lives, or reforming their Errors.*
Thus spake this Pattern of Mercy & Good-
nesse; who had not only bowels of Compas-
sion towards all his Subjects here in general,
but particularly (by reason of their Provo-
cation) to his *English Colonies*, who were, He
knew, both formerly, & in latter times, the
Defence of that Kingdom, against all Inva-
ders what soever; & now droven upon this
Rock

Rock, that they might be in a leſſe capacity of helping him in his Diſtreſſes. And truly if it ſtill continue the humour of *England* (as ſince the Reformation it has) to *deſtroy the Bear for his skin rather than for the harme he hath done*: I meane, if without Mercy, We ruine for their Eſtates our own Flesh & Blood, as theſe *old Colonies* were, what aſſurance can the now Gainers have, but that in tract of time, a new Race from *England* will come, & calling themſelves the *English Intereſt*, may fall upon their Children, & ſerve them juſt as we ſee, they have done their Predeceſſors; & ſuch Predeceſſors too, that could compare for Extraction, with any nation of *Europe*, there being ſcarce a man of great Quality in our Nation, that did not at leaſt ſend a *Cadet* thither at the firſt Conqueſt; many of which afterwards not only recieved the Guerdon of their Valour & proweſſe, but became the Repoſitories alſo of ſo many illuſtrious Families, the elder Houſes being extinct with us; & I think few of our late Adventurers can ſay ſo much.

This then in ſhort, is the Caſe of theſe unhappy men, but whatſoever they merited, I am ſure the *Catholicks* of *England* cannot be ſo much as taxt with it, without the height of Malice & Injuſtice: Nay my Lord *Mackquire* (who being a prime Actor, knew the whole

whole Conſpiracy) was conjur'd at his Exe-
cution, at *Tiburne*, to declare if we had any
knowlege, or hand in the Deſigne; I ſay, he
was thus examined, concerning the English
Papiſts, but took it on his Death, (as may be
ſeen in his laſt Speech printed by Authority)
That not a man in England knew it but one, & he an Irish *man and Proteſtant* alſo.

[a] *Printed. by Iane Coe* 1644.

As for the old Irish, it being the nature of all ſubjugated People to riſe, I more wonder that they had it in their power, than that they proceeded as they did: nor is any body ignonorant (had not by-ends made ſome pretend otherwiſe) but that the cauſe of this Treaſon was both a National Animoſity, & a particular Hatred, of the Conquered to the Conquerour, which therefor put here all our Catholick Kings from time to time upon their guard; Religion being a poor tye, when what Subjects call Freedom preſent's it ſelfe; as we not only experimentally finde abroad, by the *Sicilian Veſpers*, where (as every writer tells us) *all the French were at a clap deſtroy'd by the ſubjugated Natives*, but even at Home by the tranſactions of our own good Countrey men; *who* (as [b] Cambden ſayes) *in one night murther'd all the Danes every mothers ſon through out England*: Nor was the *Proteſtant Irish man* leſſe deſirous it ſeems, than the reſt of his Countrey-men to extirpate the *English* having

[b] *Camb. Brit. pag* 143.

having never revealed the Plot, though he knew if it ſucceeded, it would be a Prejudice to his own Religion. Nay we ſee they were the *Proteſtants* themſelves that then put Rebellion in the heads of the *Iriſh*, & that it was their copy they now thought to imitate, as *Owen, O-conally*, informd the Lords, Juſtices, & Counſel, when he diſcover'd this Conjuration to them; For after an account of the particulars, He concludes (as *Baker* has it)

[a] *Bak. p. 536.* „ That the Conſpirators ſaid, They did owe „ their Allegeance to the King, & would pay „ him all Right, but that they did this for the „ tyrannical Government, that was over „ them, *& to imitate Scotland, which got a „ Privilege by that Course*; & this alſo his *Majeſty* confirm's in his afore ſaid [b] Treatiſe ſaying. *I would to God the Iriſh had nothing to alledge for their imitation.*

[b] *Eik. Baſil. cap. 12. parag. 5 pag. 62.* So much then for this Affaire which had it's Riſe, we find, from the *Practices of Proteſtants*; which in it ſelfe is alſo *exaggerated* & made greater; & which laſtly being laid at our dores, shows the rare *Juſtice* & *Sincerity* of our *Enemies*, & conſequently how little they are to be credited, in all their *Accuſations* & *Stories*: But no wonder if ſome Proteſtants lay this at our Dores, when others father'd it on the *King*, as *He himſelfe* [c] *com-*

[c] *Ib. par. 4. p. 62.* *plain's*

For

'For my Adversary's Criticisme about the word *Infinity*, 'tis as good a one as his poor fling at *Purgatory*; & for *Queen Mary's* Dayes, I shall by & by speake of them at large, it being Reader (you must know) his custome to hint at these *odious Calumnies* in more places than one. [a] *Vid. Repl.* 11.

II. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We had spoken much sooner, had we not been silent through consternation to see you so inflam'd (whom with reverence we Honour) as also to shew our submissive patience, which used no slights or tricks to divert the debates of Parliament. For no body can imagine, where so many of the great Nobility and Gentry are concern'd, but some thing might have been done; when as in all ages we see things of Publick advantage by the managers dexerity nipt in the bud, even in the very *Houses* themselves. Far be it from Catholicks to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of their Priviledges, and all Antient Laws; Nay, *Magna Charta* it self had its rise from us. Which we do the less boast of, since it was not at first obtained in so submiss and humble manner.

2. Answer.

That men of the Popish Religion were the Founders of our good Laws and Priviledges of

Parliamēt, the Answerer cannot allow: for those of our Ancestors that stood for the common Interest of Christian Religion & Civil Government were not, he says, more our Predecessors than his; but those were only ours, that sided with the Pope.

2. *Reply.*

Judge whether the *Answerer* exceed's not here mad *Mr. Fox*, who never thought any fit to be reckon'd *Saints* & *Martyrs*, but those that openly denied Popery: as *Roger Only*, aliàs Bullingbroke, [a] *Canonized by Him*, though condemned (as [b] *Stow* sayes) to die for *Necromancy*. *Sr. Roger Acton* is [c] *Sainted too*, for all he was *taken in actual Rebellion, legally convicted* & hang'd for it as the said [d] *Stow* confesses; & thus by a Train of such rare Christians has he deriv'd Protestantisme to his own Age. But now my Adversary will have *Protestant* all the *Parliaments* that made *Magna Charta* & our other *Privileges*, all *People* that acknowledg'd them, & all *Officers*, that from time to time have executed those antient Lawes; not withstanding these Transactions were in the most flourishing times of *Popery*; nor did the *Waldenses, Albigenses, Wicklifians, Lollards, &c.* look otherwise on the *Govern-*

[a] *Fox, Feb.* 12.
[b] *Stow. Hen.* 6. *a.*1441 *p.*381. & 382
[c] *Fox. Ian.* 7.
[d] *Stow. Hen.*5. *a.*1414 *p.*344.

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ment, as you may finde in *Mr. Fox* his voluminous Story. And here *Reader*, We may plainly percieve, to what ſtrange ſhifts, theſe Writers againſt the Catholique Religion are now reduc'd, & how they ſtrive only to delude their Party, not believing that themſelves, which they would have thoſe poor Creatures reſt ſatisfied with. If they write, they thinke ſomething in Honour muſt be ſaid to every Paragraph of a Book, though when the ſubſtance of it is examin'd, 'tis like the preſent *Anſwer* here before you, *viz. That our former great & famous Patriots were forſooth as much Proteſtants as Papiſts*, notwithſtanding that they liv'd, as I ſaid, in the moſt flourishing times of Popery, & expreſs'd their deteſtation of Hereſy with all the Zeal & Care imaginable.

But ſince I have nam'd this great and mighty Author *Mr. Fox*, who is calld a *Sound new Writer*, in the ſo celebrated *Practice of Piety*, & *ranckt* alſo by [b] *D. Heylyn* as the prime moderne *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian*, I ſay, ſince I have named this once renown'd *Mr. Fox*, I cannot but condole his misfortune, that inſtead of having his Book in *Churches* as formerly, 'tis now contemn'd by every body; nor could our famous & witty *Dramatique*, a ſon of the *Church*

[a] *Moral. of Sab. p. 249.*

[b] *Heyl. Geog. pag. 20.*

& alſo of the *Tribe* of *Levi*, finde a fitter or better uſe for it, than to ſerve *Mrs. Abigal* for a martyriſing Inſtrument when she had a mind to *Cramp* & correct the *Teacher* of the Family *Sr. Roger*. And truly a like fate attend's all the firſt Champions of the Reformation, for in tract of time their odde Principles being found by their Succeſſors impoſſible to be maintain'd & which is worſe often oppoſite to their preſent Intereſt & Aimes, new ones (though contrary to the former) are preſently catch'd at, which in length of time vanish as the others did before them.

III. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We ſung our *Nunc Dimittis*, when we ſaw our Maſter in his Throne, and you in your deſerved Authority and Rule.

3, Anſwer.

If we ſang our Dimittis *at the preſent Kings return, he ſays, ſome of us rejoyc'd, and ſang an* Exultemus *at the beheading of the former.*

3. *Reply.*

Who would now think that a man could be ſo abominable, as to lay ſuch a thing to our

our charge without any proof at all? My Adversary Reader, has done it & that he might yet show greater Malice he endeavours to passe it as no uncertain Rumour, by citing in the Margent the *Answerer* of *Philanax*, as if we were undoubtedly found guilty of the fact. But because he durst not for shame set down the *Sieur Du Moulins words*, I will here present you with his Accusation *verbatim*; nor will Christ himself be innocent, if such evidence as this be sufficient.

[a] *When the business of the late bad times are once ripe for an History, and time the bringer forth of truth hath discovered the mysteries of Iniquity, and the depths of Satan which have wrought so much crime and mischief, it will be found, that the late Rebellion was raised and fostered by the arts of the Court of Rome. That* Jesuits *professt themselves* Independents, *as not depending of the* Church *of* England; *and* Fifth-Monarchy-men, *that they might pull down the* English *Monarchy; and that in the Comittees for the King and Church, they had their Spies, and their Agents. The* Roman *Priest and Confessour is known, who when he saw the fatal Stroke given to our Holy King and Martyr, flourished with his Sword and said, Now the greatest Enemy we have in the World is gone.*

[a] *Du Moulins words in answ. to Phil. pag. 58*

Now, *Reader*, let me ask you when will the busineſs of our times be ripe for Hiſtory? or what diſcoveries can there be made againſt us, if in ſix and twenty years after the beginning of the War, if in twenty years after the end of it, and perpetration of that moſt accurſed Murther, we have not only been owned as Loyal Subjects, but ſtill embrac'd by the Proteſtant Cavaliers as true Partizans with them in all their glorious Sufferings? The Preſs we know was free both in the *Rumps* and *Olivers* Tyranny; and if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe thoſe times had been unſeaſonable, why have not the Hiſtorians, ſince the Kings reſtauration, made our late perfidiouſneſs appear? I am ſure *English Proteſtants both of the Clergy & Layity*, have for their falſe, & traytorous Practices in his Majeſtys abſence, bin branded with Infamy ſince his Returne; & that this, which we are all now Witneſſes of, might not be forgotten hereafter, Dr.[a] *Bates*, a *Proteſtant* alſo, has already recorded it; when as on the other ſide, no Papiſt could ever be taxt by any body of the leaſt defection in his Loyalty. Can this *French Divine* without confuſion call him ſelfe *Canon* of *Canterbury* (a Dignity in it ſelfe ſo worthy of Honour and Reſpect) & yet tell us, *That the Catholicks cõtributed to the*

[a] *Elench. 2. part. p. 296*

pul-

pulling down of our Monarchy, & the Roman Prieſt & confeſſor is known, that flouriſht with his ſword at the fatal ſtroke? I ſay can he do thus with out confuſion, eſpecially ſeeing we have ſo often dared him to show the leaſt probability of this, or any other of his Accuſations; & how extravagant & wild they are, let any man judge by theſe that follow.

He tell's us, & aſſures us too; *That it* *Anſw. Phil.* *ſhall be juſtified whenſoever* Authority *will* *pag. 59.* *require it, That a yeare before the King's death a ſelect Company of* English Jeſuits *were ſent from their whole Party to conſult with the* Faculty *of* Sorbon (who you muſt know Reader ever were the greateſt Catholick Enemies the *Society* had in *France*) *Whether they might lawfully make away the King, whom there was no hope to turne from his Hereſie. To which Queſtion, The Doctors anſwered affirmatively, it being then ſtated in writing; but afterwards when the Pope ſaw that the Kings Murther was decried by every body, he commanded the Jeſuits to burn all the Papers about the ſaid Queſtion; but one of them was ſhewed by a Papiſt to a Proteſtant.* Yet for all this ſecrecy commanded by the Pope, He inform's us (p. 58.) *that at* Roan *many Jeſuited perſons told a Proteſtant openly, on the news of the Kings death, That they having often admoniſhed the*

King

King from time to time to remember his promise at Mariage, of becoming a Papist, were forc'd to take those courses for his destruction.

After this History, he says (*p.* 61.) *That the Friers at* Dunkirk (and by the way be pleas'd to observe there was never in that Town a House of English, Scotoch, or Irish Friers) *told an understanding Protestant Gentleman, that had a mind to pump them, That the Jesuits would fain engross the Honour of the Kings death to themselves; but the truth was, they had laboured as effectually as the Jesuits to compass it.* Then he tells, (*p.* 60.) *That thirty Jesuits neer* Diep *met a Stranger* (a Protestant Gentleman) *on the Road, and told him that they were going into* England *to be Agitators in the Independent Army,* which *was in pursuance of the Order from* Rome *for the pulling down, both of the Monarch & Monarchy of* England.

These, *Reader*, are his Stories, & with these He hopes impose upon you, which either show's the unparallel'd weakness of his own Judgment, or the meane esteem he has of our Nation; since he strives to make men believe (for otherwise he would never have set them down) things more improbable & ridiculous, than *Valentine* & *Orson*, or *Tom Thumb*. If he knew we had bin guilty, why has not *He justified it* (as he promises)

misses) to *Authority*; especially this very *Parliament* having bin often so severe, & inviting all People whatsoever to bring in their Accusations against us? Have we not in *Words* & *Writings* (as I said) publicly defied him to it, & yet We heare nothing but the old Burthen, *When the buisinesse of the late times is once ripe for History*? Nay to assure us what a man of Conscience he is (& God give him Grace to repent as He ought) He print's & re-print's his Book both in part, & in whole, without any other newes, but *That we must still stay till things are ripe as aforesaid.*

Who can therfor question but that Protestants themselves are highly concern'd at these Stories; Some out of madnesse that their cause want's them, Others out of Anger, that they cannot be made good, & many out of good Nature & Generosity, to see us wrong'd, though Enemies. This caused a Protestant of Quality, Estate, & Parts (& a Neighbour & Favourer also of the *Sieur Du Moulin*) to tell me „ That being „ very desirous to know how he would jus- „ tifie the afore said *Accusation against Pa-* „ *pists* (which He promises in his Book *when* „ Authority *should require it*) He askt him „ very seriously about it, and had only this „ Answer *That Master Pryn was his Author*

&

& would make it good he was sure.

As for that worthy Persons *Autority*, every *English man*, knew sufficiently it's weight; & 'tis very strange that the great *Persecutor* of *Catholicks* would never convict us, when he had so many Opportunities to do it, both in the *House* of *Commons*, & in his *confus'd* & *elaborate* Workes. If it be true, *viz.* That *Mr. Pryn* could make good the charge, & yet would hold his tongue (as we all see he did) I hope *Dr. Stillingfleet* will never deny *Miracles* any more; Yet with the *Sieur du Moulin's* leave, I rather thinke He is mistaken, & that his *Author* only said, *The Story was an excellent one, that he verily believ'd it.* This no man will doubt, I dare warrant, that has heard, how He was perswaded in the beginning of the late Wars, *That five Papists flew out of* Lancashire *among a flock of Wild geese, to destroy the Corne of the Godly*; but seing he is dead, let his Name rest in peace, & let us consider, at whose dore another kind of *Autority* than *Mr. Pryn's* (I meane, the *Parliament* of *England*) lay's the *Kings* death, together with the contriving & ploting the destruction of the *English Monarchy.*

This *auguste Assembly* then tell's us to this effect in their *Act* of making the 30. of *Ian.*

Jan. a perpetual Day of Humiliation; *That it was committed by a party of wretched men hardned in their Impiety; That they plotted & contrived the Ruine & Destruction of this excellent Monarchy, & that by this horrid Action the Protestant Religion has recieved the greatest Wound & Reproach, that was possible for the Enemies of God & the* King *to bring upon it*, with more to the same purpose; but not a word here, either of *Pope* or *Papists*, which one may swear was not done out of Friendship to them; neither would it have been such a Reproach to the Protestant Religion, as the *Parliament* own's, *if Jesuites, Sorbonists, Friers, Cardinals, & his Holinesse himselfe had been the contrivers of it*, according to the *Sieur du Moulin's* Account. Nay this *Fact* was not only plotted & acted by Protestants, but by Protestants also in *Communion* with the *Church* of *England*, if my *Adversary's* word may be taken; for in his [a] *Seasonable Discourse* he affirmes. *That the Church of England passes not severe Censures on other Churches though erronious, & thats he is excommunicated by none that He knowes, but by that of Rome*; Now, seeing all *Christian Churches* are deem'd to be in *Communion* with those that neither *Censure* them, nor are *Censur'd* by them, it cleerly follow's that these *Rebells*

[a] *Seas. Disc. p.* 4.

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(as I said) if my *Adversaries* word may be taken, were in *Communion* with the Church of *England*; & this is all he has got by charging us with the *crime*.

But be pleas'd to take notice Reader, That the *Sieur Du Moulin* is forsaken by his own Partizans; for my *Adversary* (that urged this senseless Accusation & Calumny with so much Passion & Zeale, & cited over & over the irrefragable *Authority* of this Divine) durst not so much as mention it, in his present *Reasonable Defence*, though I had openly challeng'd him & his Author to it in my *Answer* to his other workes. Nor truly can I deeme it strange that the *Sieur du Moulin*, & his friend *Master Pryn* should father this Contrivance on the *English Jesuites*, & consequently on the Catholiques seeing (as it is in their *Martyrologe*, called a *New Discovery* of the *Prelates Tyranny*) when He with *Mr. Bastwick* & *Burton* were (besides their other Penalties, condemn'd to loose their Eares) *Bastwick* upon the very *Pillory* it selfe *told the Spectators*, (& doubtlesse this faithfull fellow-sufferer spoke the sence of the Rest) [a] *That the Plot of sending them to those remote places* (where they were to be aftetwards perpetually imprison'd) *was first consulted & agitated by the* Jesuites, *as He could plainly make appeare*,

[a] *Prel. Tyr. part 2. p. 35.*

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I say I cannot wonder that the *Sieur du Moulin* & his friend *Mr. Pryn*, should father such mad & contradictory machinations on the *Jesuites*, & from thence on all Catholiques, since we here see that the said *Master Pryn*, would have also the *Jesuites* Contrivers of his sufferings, though they were inflicted on him by the sentence of the *Star-Chamber* for scandalizing the *Bishops*, and *Episcopal Government*, as Thousands still alive remember, & as 'tis also recommended to Posterity by [a] *Sanderson*, [b] *H. L.* & all the other Historians of those times. And now Reader if you would really understand what *Jesuits*, *Sorbonists*, *Friers*, or *Confessor* determined, *That the King might be lawfully put to death, & expresst also so much joy at his Execution*, They were, you must know, the *French Hugonot Ministers*, & their Flock; For what *Cavalier* was there then in *France* that cannot justify (*whether Authority require it or no*) how those *Saints* adored *Cromwel*, hating from first to last both the *King*, and all his *Party*.

[a] *Sander. Ch. 1. p. 219.*

[b] *H. L. Ch. 1. p. 145.*

But let the world judge of the *Sieur Du Moulins* nameless *Priest*, by him he names viz. *Mr. White* alias *Blacklow*, whose villainous Book of *Obedience* and *Government* he urges as the *Principles of our Religion*, & as the sence of the rest of the *English Catholiques*

Concerning M. White alias Blacklow.

liques, whenas nothing can more evidently show even our ſpeculative Loyalty, than that Treatiſe. For it's Author the ſaid *Mr. White*, has not only from time to time been moſt sharply dealt with by his *Catholique Countrey-men*, but He & this very *Book* have been both *privatly & publicly condemn'd by the Pope him ſelfe*, nor durſt he ſince show his head in any Country that profeſſes our Religion. And that the *Sieur du Moulin* might evidently expreſſe the tenderneſſe of his conſcience & Juſtice, He has vrg'd the ſame Accuſation in the very ſame termes in his *Re-impreſſions*, even after he was taxt for it. But it ſeem's 'tis the Proteſtant Fashion; for ſeveral have rementioned the Books of *Mr. White* though they have been juſt before told, that he is a *cenſur'd man*. Nay what Anſwer do you thinke Reader my preſent Antagoniſt makes in his *Reaſonable Defence* to my Complaints for this monſtrous way of Proceeding? why he ſayes firſt,

a *Reaſ. Def. p. 45.* That my c *Quarrel about this, is own'd to the ſame Original as my other Complaints*, viz. *The not underſtanding what is talk't of.* So

b *Anſw. Reaſ. Diſc. p. 21* that if I decry in *plain Termes*, & without any *Ambages*, the abominable impoſing on Readers, in charging upon us the Opinions of a Man, who (as we have again & again told our Adverſaries) is condemn'd

then

then he Reply's (for ſomethling for ſhame he muſt ſay) *That my Quarrel is own'd to my not underſtanding what is talkt of*; & thus with ſuch an *Anſwer* or a mad *Ergo*, his Flock muſt acquieſſe & reſt ſatisfied. But pray marke his *Second Reply* which is, [a] *That* Mr. White *might have wrote What Treaſon He pleas'd againſt Princes, & fared no worſe than his Neighbours, had not his Tabulæ Suffragiales, & ſome others of his Writings toucht his Holineſſes Copy hold about Infallibility Purgatory &c. & thereby rendred Heretical all he had wrote or could write hereafter.*

[a] Rea. Def. pag. 45.

Is not this rarely ſpoken *Readers*? yet let me entreate you before you paſſe your judgment, to heare what another *Doctor* of the *Church of England*, (that writ not above 3. or 4. monethes before him) ſayes upon this Subject; I meane *Doctor Stanhop* who has own'd *The ſureſt Eſtablishement of the Royal Throne*, as his. Here you will finde him citing with great Paſſion *Mr. Whites Doctrine*, as altogether *Catholique*, & after He has made *Papiſts* excuſe thimſelves as ſtrongly, as he fancy's it can be done, then preſently follow's his cõfutation. „ The Po-
„ pish plea or pretence (concerning *Maſter*
„ *Whites Doctrine*) he [b] ſayes may perchance
„ be, That they were only the *Miſcarria*

[b] *Sureſt. Eſtab. of Roy. Th. p. 36*

ges

„ges of some *particular Persons*. But why „ then (continues he) were not those Per„sons *discouraged by the rest of their own Par*„*ty*? why were not their *Writings protested*, „ *against*, & themselves *censured by their Su*„*periors*? Had this *Course* been taken, the „ *Church of Rome* had proceeded fairly to „ her *Vindication*, & we neither *should* nor „ in reason *could* have blam'd her.

And now *Reader* what can Man-kind think of our so candid Adversaries; & pray tell me, whether these shifts & intrigues do not confirme the Saying of *ingenious* [a] *Mr. Mervin*; *That the Word was given & Orders delivered through the Ecclesiasticall Camp to beat up the Pulpit, Drums against Popery.* Nay to sputter out something 'tis no matter what, as he farther tell's us. Some say's he *by mistake catch up a Socinian or Arminian Argument, some a popish to fight a Papist. Never was there such Incongruity & Nonconformity; One run's to borrow a sword of Calvin, This a Musket from Beza, & That for Bandeleers from Keckerman.* I say dos not all this look as if men were hired to write & speake against Popery, & so their *Iourné worke* be done, to regard neither the Truth nor Consequences of their Allegations. And thus even in our present case their *incongruous* Shifts are apparent; for when they

[a] Rehers. Transp. P. 268.

Ib. 269

can

can no longer deny the *Church's* condemning an ill Member: *It was forsooth* (they say) *because he had displeas'd the Pope in another Book.* But if out of *Ignorance*, they think no *Censure* has past, then they cry, *Why were not the Malefactors discountenanc'd by their Party, why not censurd by their Superiors?* *If the* Church *of* Rome *had taken this Course, she had proceeded fairly to her Vindication, & we neither should nor in Reason could have blam'd her.* But why should I wonder at this usage, since our great *Lord & Master was termed a* Glutton (by willfull men) *for coming Eating & Drinking*, though *St. John had been called a Divel for doing the contrary*; so that it is impossible, we see, to satisfie, or hinder those from such poor evasions, whom *Interest* has made blind & obstinate. Yet *Dr. Stanhop* is as well a Gentleman as a Divine, & having, as to this Point his word in both Capacities, He will I know open still wider his Eyes, & after he has consider'd the misfortunes of Education, & the like, will (with his former *Candor*,) ingenuously profesſe to the World, *That the* Church *of* Rome *has (at all times) fairly proceeded to her Vindication, & that her Enemies neither should, nor in Reason could have blam'd her.* He must also pardon me if I desire another Favour of him, which is to acquaint my Adversary, That

He ought to put the ſaddle on the right Horſe, and to remember that *Mr. Whites* Divinity about *Obedience*, is not only good Proteſtant *Doctrine*, but agreeable it ſeem's even to the *Church* of *England*; for the ſaid *Mr. White* has bin ſo far from being punish'd, or as much as queſtion'd by her Members for it, that his ſole Refuge & Safety is under her Authority; & therfor 'tis evident whom *we could, & whom in Reaſon we ſhould* blame as to this affaire.

So much then for *Mr. Whites* Books, & for our having a hand in the Kings Death; & now let us returne to the *Popes Envoyés*, the 30. *Jeſuites* neer *Diepe* that told a *Proteſtant* Gentleman on the Road, *that they were going for England to be Agitators in the Independent Army.*

Was *Sr. Walters* diſcovery of the *Plot Anno* 41. *of blowing up the Thames to drown* the City comparable to this? Why we ſee that theſe *French Nouvelles* are ſo ridiculous that a late *Proteſtant Drol* in his *Character* of *a Coffee houſe*, thought the only way to make his *Newes monger* relate things beyond all meaſure *Fantaſtical* & *mad*, was to imitate the *Sr. du Moulin*; & therfor he brings in his *Politico* (after many ſuch ſtories) telling the *Auditory*, "That 5. *hundred & 50. Jeſuites all mounted on Dromedaries were ſeen by moon-*

a *Char. Cof. houſe p.* 4.

ſhine

shine on Ham-stead Heath. Nay if there be any disparity in these two accounts, 'tis, that this of the *Coffee house* is much the more probable; for had the *Iesuites* a designe upon *London*, 'twould be far likelier to hear that 550 were found by night on a neighbouring *Heath*, than that 30. should be met together on the *Road*, & those telling a *Protestant* not only their *Designes*, but *designes* also quite opposite to the very Principles of our *Religion*, which positively declares, [a] *That no man in Conscience can feign him selfe an Infidel or Heretique, though he were sure to convert the whole World by it.* But all the Divines of the Church of England are not of the *French Calibre*; for we see *Dr. Gumble* (who writ long after the *Sieur Du Moulin*) laugh's at such fopperies, & therfor tell's us in his *Life* of *that Man of Men* our late incomparable [b] GENERAL; *That many who there listed themselves* (viz in that Parliamentary Army) *were men of good parts & learning, which some thought Iesuites, but that was an Ignorant Iealousie.*

[a] *Vid. more of this in the 6. Reply.*

[b] *Life of General Monke pag. 34.*

Good Protestant Reader, I am quite tired with this senceless stuff; and if you think it false, consider *what a jewel you have got from* France; but if you can deem it true, let me entreat you hereafter never to fear *Iesuite or Priest*; for I am sure such prating

fools can never do you harm. Besides, I wonder how it came to pass that *all the Great Cavaliers* caress't *Jesuits*, and employ'd them in much business during the Kings exile; neither were they then, or the rest of the Popish *Priests*, less welcome *to the Royalists of* England.

Have we not seen, Good Reader, that such ridiculous Stories as these, have lately ruined the Kingdom, and can any man believe, if they once come in fashion again, they will end with Papists? For my own part, I should never have taken notice of *Sieur du Moulin* or his Book, had not my Adversary owned him, as I said, for *his informer*; and I see he has imitated him also in his method; for my worthy Answerer calls me a *Jesuite*, and so the other does *Philanax*, though I am confident he knows him to be a *Layman*, *and a married man also*. But now, Reader, it will not be amiss to tell you why the *Sieur du Moulin* is so angry with the *Jesuites*.

You must know, that *Petra Sancta* (a famous Writer in the Society) [a] taxes the Drs *Father* for jugling, *viz* for being in *France* a *Presbyterian*, and in *England Episcopal*, and so complying for gain with those Ceremonies, which his *Calvinistical* Brethren abominated as superstitious.

[a] *Calv. verbero. pag.* 42.

And

And that we may further see what a Pillar of Christianity it selfe this *old Gentleman* was, the famous [a] *Casaubon* (one of the learnedest Protestants that perchance has bin) tells us among his other good Qualities, *That He rejects as spurious all the Books of the Antient Fathers that are contrary to his Doctrine, as St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Ambrose, &c.* And he further alledges, *that he was not asham'd in his Writings to call St. Cyprian Anabaptist, to the end he might blemish the memory of this Martyr of Jesus Christ, by the infamy of that new Heresy:* In short after sharp expressions against him, & other French Ministers, he concludes, *That thus under pretence of combating the Errours of the Papal Party, they give the Antient Church deadly blows, & that for his part he avows, This Licence or rather abominable Impiety pleases him not.* These are *Casaubons* Sentiments of him in a Letter printed & publish'd at *Amsterdam An.* 60. in a Collection of several Letters from other Ministers, under the Title of *Præstantium & eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ*; & the Protestant *Publisher* of the said *Collection* also observes (as [b] *Arnold* against the *Minister Claud* has it, with the particulars before mentioned) *That in a former Collection of Casaubon's Letters, they had omitted what*

[a] *Epist. Præst. & eru. Vir. p.* 329.

[b] *Perpetuité de la Foy. pag.* 58 & 59.

concern'd du Moulin; whereby we may plainly percieve, that there is nothing but forgery & indirect dealing among them.

But to proceed; This old Monsieur, his *Reverend Father*, as his Reverend son stiles him, & who can marvel now that we should be called by the one *disloyal to our King*, since the Glorious Martyr *St. Cyprian* is branded by the other, as a traytorous Dissertor of his dear Lord & Soveraign: I say this old [a] *Monsieur wrot a Letter* (as the *Sieur du Moulin* has it) to the Rebels at Rochel, *To exhort them to obey the King in breaking up their Assembly*; which was hatching (you must know,) the Rebellion, that presently afterward broke out with so much zeal & violence. And though this *Letter* has, I warrant you, been sufficiently lickt (for we have just now had a plain Example of their skill in chopping & changing Originals) yet you may find, in expresse Termes according to his sons own printed copy, [b] *That a ground of his perswasion was, because they were not strong enough to resist the King.* And besides, this Reverend Divine in that Exhortation to Loyalty, concludes, [c] *That Notwithstanding all he had said, they ought to look after their safety; for 'twas unreasonable for them to separate their Assembly with the peril of their persons.* Of the same Loyal judgment

[a] *Answer to Phil. pag. 38.*

[b] *Ib. pag 41.*

[c] *Ib. pag 44.*

ment also I find the *Sieur du Moulin* himself; for after all his rayling against *Jesuites for Sedition*, he confesses the Term was expired of the grant of the strong Places to the *Hugonots*;[a] Nevertheless, he says, *they* seem to *be justified for keeping those Towns, by the reason of the first Grant, which was to preserve them from their bitter Enemies.*

[a] *Ib. pag* 37.

This is the Doctrine, you see, of this worthy Divine, who has also vindicated the actions of the Reformed in *Geneva, Holland Germany*, &c. and therefore I wonder not at his aspersing us for our service to our King and Country. 'Tis not my business to run over all his Book in order, having *one of his Party* already to deal with; but this I must tell him and the rest; *That since they steal one from the other*, none of their Fopperies as to matter of Fact, shall go here unanswered: and this they may find in some part or other of the present treatise; If they thinke fit to consult the Index.

IV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Nor could any thing have ever grieved us more, then to have our Loyalty called into Question by you, even at the instigation of our greatest Adversaries. If we must suffer let it be by you alone; for that's a double death to men of Honour to have their Enemies not

not only accusers, but for their insulting Judges also.

4. Answer.

His Objection here is, Men of Honour & loyalty have no cause to fear either single or double Deaths, our Kings having always declar'd that they put no body to Death for Religion; therefore if I truly fear Death 'tis for Treason.

4. *Reply.*

Whither Papists dye in Englād for their Religion or for Treason.

What may we not expect from my Adversary, when he once comes to deny things, of which there are so many Examples on Record. Is it not pretty *That none of ours die for Religion but for Treason*, & yet hundreds of *Priests* have bin executed in *England* for no Crime but beeing *Priests*? nay *Lay men* have bin *hanged* only for beeing *converted*, & others for letting a *Priest* say *Masse* in their *houses*, whenas to serve God thus on *Festivals*, every *Catholique* in Conscience is oblig'd if he can. Besides, have not several suffer'd for believing the *Pope to be Head of the Church*, not only in *Henry* the 8.'s Reigne but *Queen Elizabeth's* also. 'Twas for their not owning her *Supremacy*, that she quest-

tion'd

tion'd & ejected the Bishops in the beginning of her Reigne, as [a] *Cambden* has it; & 'twas for this also that she *hung drew & quarter'd Nelson & Sherwood.* Nay to demonstrate clearly the Cause of the Death of these 2 Priests, though the Writers of those times are seldome sparing in their Calumnies against any that suffer'd (& no body is a greater enemy to Popery, than *Holinshed*) yet both [b] he & [c] *Stow* jump here in the same words, *viz.* „ That on „ the 3. of Feb. 1577. *John Nelson* for de- „ nying the *Queen's Supremacy*, & such „ other traytorous wor'ds against her *Ma-* „ *jesty*, was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tyburne*, „ & there hang'd, bowell'd, and quarte- „ red; And on the 7. of the same moneth „ *Thomas Sherwin*, was likewise drawn from „ the *Tower* of *London* to *Tyburne*, & there „ hang'd, bowell'd & quarter'd for the like „ Treason.

[a] *Camd. Eliz. an.* 1559. *pag.* 36

[b] *Hol. Eliz. an. Reg.* 21. *p.* 1271.

[c] *Stow Eliz. an. Reg.* 21. *p.* 684.

'Twould be needlesse to reckon up all the Examples of this kinde, this being *Reader* sufficient to give you a Taste of Protestant *Justice* & *Compassion*, that can rail at Popish Cruelty, & yet inflict on poor Catholiques the utmost punishment of the horridest Crimes, for not owning an *Ecclesiastical Soveraignty* in our *Princes*; which not only so many mighty *Monarchs* still profess

Princes & Protestants against the Supremacy

to

to be contrary to *Christian Religion*, & by no meanes their Due, but which *Calvin* also, as [a] *Dr. Heylyn* sayes, did absolutly disallow, calling them *Inconsiderate men that confer'd that Title on the King.* I say these 2. Examples are sufficient to show the *Justice* & *Compassion* of our Adversaries; for where so many aspiring *Princes* disown a *regal Right*, & this also impugn'd by so *supereminent a Protestant*, (whose Doctrine too the *Church* of *England* more follows, than she dos any others of the first Revolters from Rome) the punishment certainly of a Delinquent in this Case ought not to be the same with that, which the plainest & blackest Crime in *England* is capable of meriting. And which is yet more, *Papists* have thus suffer'd wese, for disowning this *Supremacy*, & their Arguments & speeches against it called *such other Traytorous words against their Prince*, though now *the House of Cõmons* themselves have publicly voted, [b] *That the King cannot dispence with any penal Law in Religion*, which one would think is the least Prerogative that the *Head* of the *Church* can have; & especially such a *Head* that had *the Popes former power Conferr'd upon him.*

[a] *Heyl. Histor. Presb. pag. 26.*

Protestants deny now a lesse prerogative than the supremacy.

[b] *Feb. 1673.*

[c] *Vid. Act. Par 26. H. 8 1. Eliz. & others*

Defenders of the *Church*, with all Duty, we own our Monarchs may be, but can never deem them *Supreme Heads* of it, who

(as

(as our Enemies sometimes confesse) are not able to make even a *Sub-Deacon*. Yet by my Adversary's Argument against us, should the *Parliament* make it Treason, (& who know's but that *Hen.* the 9. will have it so) *To hold Episcopal Ordination only valid, or that the King cannot give Orders*, it may then be as well said, that they that are executed in pursuance of the Law, died for *Treason*, & not for their *Religion*: Nor can such a Law, I suppose, seem strange to English men, (who have heard & seen, since the Reformation stranger things) especially when *Cranmer* him selfe has declared, *That a Governour could make Priests as well as Bishops*; as Dr. [a] *Stillingfleet* inform's us in his *Irenicon*.

[a] *Vid. S. C. against D. Still. Fanat. pag.* 81.

But that there might be no dispute in our Martyrdome, the Protestant Government has been so kinde to put us to death, for the same cause alone, & upon the same Account which the most famous & holy Martyrs suffered for, even in the primitive Persecutions. Of this we have examples to show you in the time of *Charles* the *first*, as also in the Reigne of *King James*; but I will now only insist on passages happening under *Queen Elizabeth*, because *Cecil*, & others of that Cabal, had nothing so frequent in their mouthes as my Adversary's

[b] *Iren. p.* 392.

Assertion;

Assertion; *That none of Us were ever put to death for his Religion.*

He then that will cast his eye upon *Holinshed*, though, as I said, a violent man against Popery, & an absolute Creature also of old *Ceeil*, as may be seen by the Dedications of his Story; I say he that will cast his eye on this Author, shall finde him Here mentioning a Priest hang'd, without imputing any thing to him, but *his being a Priest*, *There* another *for denying the Supremacy*, & presently after perchance a *Third*, *for having ben converted to our Religion*. But this *Reader* is to deale too much by Retail, & that Historian also writes not 2. *thirds* of her Life, therfor we will examine a little his Fellow [a] *Iohn Stow* & there we shall see at a clap, *That* 14. *Papists were executed*; 6. *for being made Priests beyond Sea, & remaining in this Realme contrary to the Statute*, 4. *for being reconciled to the Church, & 4. for relieving & abetting the others*. In the very next page [b] He also has it, *That* John Welden & William Hartley *made Priests at* Paris, & *remaining here contrary to the Statute were hang'd, One at* Miles end, *the other nigh the* Theatre; *as was also* Robert Sutton *at* Clerkenwell, *for beeing reconciled to the* See *of* Rome. Then, in the following yeare, [c] He again inform's us, *That* Christopher Bales

[a] *Stow p.* 750. *an. Reg.* 30.

[b] *Stow, p.* 751.

[c] *Stow. p.* 761.

Bales *made Priest beyond Sea, was convicted of Treason for remaining here contrary to the Statute, & was hang'd, b'well'd & quartered in* Fleetstreet; *Also* Nicholas Horne, & Alexander Blage *were convicted of Felony for relieving* Bales *contrary to the like Statute, & were hang'd in* Smith-field, & Graye's Inne lane.

I shall trouble you *Reader* with no more Particulars at present, though this *Writer* as well as others, afford many; And now if it be a sufficient Justification of this Procedure to say; *That these Catholicks suffer'd for wilfully transgressing known lawes*, be pleas'd then to tell me, whether by the same Rule, *the Primitive Christians were not really Traytors*? For they had been *banish'd* by the publiq *Edicts* of the lawfull *Prince*, from several *Places*, where they came in *Mission*, & were *forbidden* also under pain of *Death* in the highest Degree, from *preaching & seducing his Majesty's Subjects*, as the *Ethnicks* of old, as well as the *Protestants* of late thought fit to terme *Conversions*. Nay our glorious Countrey-man *Saint Alban*, the first holy *Martyr* of this *Isle* (so celebrated by [a] *Gildas*, [b] *Bede*, & others) was also a *Felon* & *Traytor*, dying for committing the selfe same things, for which the poor Catholiques above mentioned, suffer'd. He had been

[a] *Ep. de Exc. Brit parag. 8 p. 116.*
[b] *Histor Gent. Ang. ch. 7. p. 152*

been *converted* to a *Religion* forbidden by Law; & therefore (as [a] Stow has it) *for professing* Christ, *suffer'd Martyrdome*; He had contrary to the *Bando* or *Outlawry* harbour'd in his House the *Priest Amphibalus*, [b] *who instructed him in the Faith*, as both [b] *Cambden* & the said [c] Author affirme; & he had also (by a wonderfull piece of *Charity*) helpt that *Zealous Christian*, (as [d] *Holinshed* term's him) to *escape* & get away: which was the very Crime of *Mrs. Margret Ward*, *Who was hang'd at Tyburne*, (as 'tis expressely in [e] *Stow*) *for conveying a Cord to a Priest in Bridewell, whereby he let himselfe down & escap'd.* And as ours have (you see) thus closely follow'd the steps of the British *Saint Stephen*, (as [f] *Cambden* sayes he was call'd) in like manner did they imitate his Constancy & Christian Courage to the End. For as *He had his life offer'd him on condition He would* (as [g] Holinshed tells us) *but Sacrifice*, that is to say, cõforme to the then establish'd manner of Worhip, so the same *Grace* is tender'd to our condemn'd *Priests* & *Abetors*, which plainly & without all exception demonstrates, *That they only dye for their Religion.* But that God who strengthned our antient Champion *to fight the good fight* even to Death, has fortified here his late Servants in the fiery day of Trial; Nor do's

a *Stow. pag.* 43.
b *Cãbd. Brit. p.* 413.
c *Stow. ib.*
d *Hol. ib.*
e *Stow. p.* 750. *An.* 30. *Eliz.*
f *Camb. Brit. p.* 409.
g *Hol. ib.*

Stow

Stow (who pretends to such kinde of Collections) mention but [a] *two that recanted*, during the long & terrible Reigne of the Queen. Thus having shown you *Reader* as to matter of Fact, the parity between our sufferings now a dayes, & the undaunted *Saint Alban's*, I shall briefly & evidently make appeare (in the 16. *Reply* of this Treatise) that our present Religion, or Beliefe is the same with his also, though he liv'd in *Diocletian's* time, which was lesse than 300. years, after *Christ*.

[a] *Stow. p. 751. an. Reg. 30.*

V. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

These are they that by beginning with us, Murthered their Prince, and wounded you: And shall the same method continue by your approbation? We are sure you mean well, though their Design be wicked; But let it never be recorded in Story, that you forgot your often Vows to us, in joyning with them that have been the cause of so great calamity to the Nation.

5. Answer.

How far 'tis true that the Kings Murtherers began with us Catholicks, shall be show'd anon: But we take, he sayes, the liberty of bestowing Characters on whom we please; so that no body must

must move against us hereafter, lest they be thought to continue the Method of the Kings Murtherers. As for Vows, we are more sure of those of Protestants to us, then they of ours to them, because they want a Pope to dispence with them: Neither is it recorded in Story, that English Protestants joyn'd with the Enemies of the Nation.

5. *Reply.*

Would not one believe, that my Adversary would faine question whither the *Long Parliament* (many of which we know were the *Kings* Judges & *Murtherers*) *began with us*, Though Witnesses enough still alive remmember, that they not only *began with us*, but forc'd also the *King* to put several *Priests* to death. But 'tis no wonder that he should strive to leave every thing in doubt (let it benever so cleare) that demonstrates our Loyalty to our Prince, when he once deny's, *That it is recorded in Story, That English Protestants joyn'd with the Enemies of the Nation.* Why pray Sr. what Religion was *Bishop Williams* of, who *was actually in armes, & joyn'd with the Rebels against his Majesty*: nay, his villainy was so open & notorious that *Sanderson* (no smal friend to the Clergy) sayes, *That*

English Protestants joyn'd also, with the Rebel's.

That this Metropolitan became an utter Enemy against the King, changing his Canonical habit for a Coat of Mail, with that bold, malepert & petulant Impudence, as for the lesse dishonour to the Function he forbears to mention. Besides what *King* ever had more false servants than *Charles the First?* so that his Councels & Designes were to his final ruine discoverd from time to time to his deadly Enemies. And as many were thus perfidious to his *Late Majesty* (as all the *Cavalier Party* with sorrow still remmember) so there succeeded those *among both Clergy and Layity*, [b] (as I already showd you even in *Bates his History*) that wrought our present *Monarch* no little harme and mischief; & therfor let any man judge, whether or no it berecorded in Story, *That English Protestats joyn'd with the Enemies of the Nation.* [a] Sander K. ch. 1. p. 88.

[b] Rep. p. 70.

But though my Adversary denies this truth, he meanes not I hope by upbraiding us *with our dispensing with Vowes*, that we are lesse strict in private promisses between man & man, than other Christians; for if he should, he'l finde (I can assure him) very few Protestants of his opinion. Seing then he must needs intend publique Engagements by his Phrase, be pleasd to to consider *Reader* (even by examining our owne times) who has bin most busy,

the *Romish or Protestant Pope herein.*

Whether Papists that refus'd the Oath of Allegiance or Protestants that took it were the best Subjects.

The Papists refus'd the Oath of Allegiance as 'tis now worded, but the Reformed took it in all the degrees of Preferment, viz; *When graduated in the Universities; when admitted into Orders; when Justices of Peace; when Parliament men; & in short when any Dignity either in Church or State was conferred.* Yet for all the often repetition of it, halfe the Nation were in Rebellion against the *King*, directly contrary to what they had sworne; Whereas on the other side there was no *Papist*, that declared not for his Majesty, though they refus'd (as I said) the *Oath*, & for this Refusal severely suffer'd both in their Estates & Persons.

Oaths in themselves every body knows, are not by our Tenets unlawfull; nor can it be for want of Zeale to our Prince that any refuse this, since we all like one man stood faithfull by him in his unparallel'd Troubles, even against those who had so often taken it. 'Tis the ill wording of it that we scruple at, for it was fram'd by one *Perkins*, an *Apostat Jesuit*, who knowing what we could, and what we could not take, mingled several *Truths* with several *Speculative Points*, &, which is yet more, with *False Notions*, on

Perkins the Apostat Jesuit Framer of the Oath of Allegiance.

purpose

purpose to make us fall within the Law of Refusal; & that you may see how oddly it is compos'd, I shall briefly show you some *Particulars*, which ought as much to startle a *Protestant* (if he be not altogether sear'd) as it dos those of our Religion.

1. For who can swear, *That the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any other meanes, with any other, can depose the King*; whenas the *King of Suedeland*, may law fully depose the *King of Denmarke* & set up an other, if being injur'd by him they fall out, & He conquers him. In the like manner may the *King of England*, justly serve the *King of Spain*, or any other Enemy; & thus our former *Princes* dealt, not only with the *Welsh & Irish*, but Scotch also, as appeares in our own Histories; yet as I said, men absolutly swear *that no body can depose our Prince*. In the next place how can a man affirme with an Oath, *That 'tis an heretical Doctrine that excommunicated Princes may be depos'd*, since 'twas never declar'd by any Christian Councel as such. Every thing that is false is not *Heretical*; Nay our Countrey man *Pelagius* his Doctrine though *impious* and *damnable*, could not be truly called *Heretical*, 'till after the declaration of the

Exceptions against the Oath of Allegiance which touch even Protestants.

Councels, that took particular Cognizance of it. Lastly, Is it not odd te swear, *That no Person what soever has power to absolve him of this Oath*, when as the *King* himselfe may do it; a thing often practised among Princes since the very Reformation. Witnesse the *Emperour Charles* the 5. in the last Century; as also lately the *Queen of Sweden* and *King of Poland* at the Resignation of their respective Crowns.

Many other Exceptions might be made; & certainly if Protestants themselves ought to scruple this Oath, who cannot but commend so many thousand Catholiques that do it? Nay, those few that from the very beginning took it, alwayes publickly profess'd (as may be seen again in Suarez) *That they meant nothing by the said Oath but civil Obedience to their King*; at which Protestants (because they were defeated of the Penalties they gap'd after) severely exclaimd, *as if Papists had permissive Reservations in whatsoever they did*; nor was the whole Body of Catholiques troubled at such Imputations, but on the contrary rejoyc'd being able now plainly to demonstrate to the world the usual scandal of their Enemies, who could still lay juggling & underhand dealing at our doors, when as afterwards it appeard,

a *Suar. de jur. fidel. p. 796.*

appeard, the *Pope* by his *Breve* had declar'd,[a] *That this Oath according to it's expresse words, could not be taken with a safe Conscience, & therfor earnestly exhorted us to be ever constant in refusing it.* This was the *Popes* Advice, which, I am sure, in stead of blaming, all Protestants ought strictly to have follow'd; becaus the taking the said Oath is down right Perjury in them, seing on the one side *the natural extent of the words assert Falsities*, as I showd before, & on the other side by their own Tenets *no explications must be us'd in swearing*. Thus then have they digged a Pitt for us, & fallen into it themselves; I say they digged one for us, the intention of the Oath being only to entrap us; for though Catholiques have often offer'd to make one, *That should as strongly oblige them in all civil Duty, & Obedience* as this, yet that was so far from pleasing, that it rather contributed to the framing a Test diametrically opposit to the very fundamentals of our Religion; Nor is there, I dare openly affirme, a man in England that questions in the least our loyalty; nay the common quarel & feare is, that we are too zealous for the Kings power & prerogative. And truely the consideration of loyalty, which can never be separated from a conscientious,

[a] *Vid the Breve in Suarez. & elsewhere.*

Oaths of Allegiance useless.

tious Subject, makes me (though I am not for abrogating old, & laudable Customes, looke on *Oathes* as really useleſſe, where without them, as in Allegiance, we are naturally bound; & my Reaſon is becauſe Honeſt men will be punctual in duty, whether they ſwear or no; when as the Wicked can at no time be oblig'd, let the bond be never ſo ſacred.

Perjury more common in England, then els where & why.

Nor has our Nation ſuffer'd a little by the rash & odde impoſing of Oaths; for in the whole World there's no place where Perjury is ſo common as here, though it be ſo crying & horrid a ſin; & how can it be otherwiſe expected, when an Oath is the Teſt (& lately more than ever) of all things in Diſpute among us; ſo that the frequency of ſwearing leſſen's the Veneration, & the forcing men ſo often to it, in relation to their own Profit or Loſſe, cauſes the Unprincipled to falter in the beginning, & having once broken the Ice, like whores they become at laſt altogether hardned in their Impiety; beſides in tract of time, we find ſeveral Oaths are reckond only as formal Ceremonies, & that the Offender himſelfe, if he be not openly puniſht by Law, (which ſeldome or never happens) ſuffer's not in the general eſteem of his Acquaintance.

What

What abominations have we also seen the other day, when besides Swearing, *Communicating too was* [b] *enjoind all Persons in any Office or Employment*, on purpose to take from loyal & suffering Catholiques the little live li hood which some few had gotten? Are not those known, & of Quality too, *that from Wenches & Brothel houses went to per forme the Obligation of this Law?* Have not some drunk over night, & early wakend with heat & thirst, calld their Companions to go to Church, *because Communion wine was the best mornings draught after a Debauch?* Have not others revelling all Saturday even 'till Sunday it selfe cry'd; *That the Act enjoind no preparation, & that they recieu'd now to save their Offices, & not their Souls*; nor was there any thing more ordinary at London, *than to finde Bread, which the Communicants had thrown under foot.* Twould be long enough before I end, were I to reckon all the strange Profaneness committed, even such, that several (who were far from being Bigots or Precisians) stood amaz'd at, & the common Pastime in all Companies (during *the* thus *preventing the dangers from Popery*) was to relate these, & the like stories. These are the usual Blessings that attend the pere-

Abominations committed in the Communion lately enjoin'd.

[b] *Vid. Act for preventing dangers from Popish Recusants 1673.*

The Clergy smarted by persecution of Papists.

persecution of Papists; & as several' of the Clergy were passionate to have severe Lawes enacted against us, who had contributed to the very Restauration of their Prelates, so perchance 'twas no little blow to their honour (& the consequence I doubt will be yet worse) to have not only the Bishops but the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury (one of the greatest Metropolitans formerly in the world) brought to that passe, as his word without two witnesses could not serve to satisfie that he had recieu'd; nor was the recieving from his own hands sufficient, but he must be communicated by the ordinary Minister of his Parish.

These I say are the usual Blessings that attend the Persecution of Papists, nor do our Enemies ever fall upon us, but the sting in the end reaches themselves; & seing then that all Orders & Degrees here, participate something at one time or other of the calamities we suffer, what wonder is't, if the whole Nation also be fallen from what it was?

VI. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Of all Calumnies against Catholiques, we have admir'd at none so much, as that their Principles are said to be inconsistent with Go-

Government, & they themſelves thought ever prone to Rebellion.

6. Anſwer.

On this ſhort Paragraph he makes a wonderful long Diſcourſe ſaying, *That it is a Calumny of ours to call that a Calumny, which is true; for firſt our Councels, ſecondly our* Decretals, *thirdly our* Divines *teach, That the Pope has power to depoſe Kings, & to diſcharge Subjects of their Allegiance, which Doctrines are inconſiſtent with Government. But every Papiſt is bound to believe their* Councels, Decretals *&* Divines, *Ergo, we may be well thought prone to Rebellion. He alſo add's that it is obſervable, That the Pope that made this law, was himſelfe a Depoſer of Kings, namely of* Iohn *King of England & of* Otho *the Emperour; & that this Councel that made Rebellion a duty was the firſt that made Tranſubſtantiation an Article of Faith.*

6. *Reply.*

As for my Adverſary's firſt Aſſertion to wit, *That general Councels decree this Doctrine*, He proves it by the *Lateran* under *Inno-*

Innocent 3. *which expressely ordains*, he sayes; *That in case any Prince be a Favourer of Hereticks after Admonition given, the Pope shall discharge his Subjects from their Allegiance, & shall give away his Kingdom to some Catholique that may root out those Heretiques*, & possesse his *Kingdom without Contradiction.*

All ordinatiõs in Councels are not infallible & divine.

I grant that much of the said Decree is in this *Councel*, & *That Councels in determinations of Faith are infallible & divine*; but we say not *that all their Ordinations are so*; Nor will this seem strange to *English University men*, who scruple not to allow, That in some matters, *God* is not pleas'd the *Scripture* it selfe should (in its obvious sense) be taken as *divine & infallible*; For they do not thinke that all the *Philosophy* in the *Bible* is unquestionable, or that the *Mathematicks* of it, is to a title just. The *Molten sea is described to be* [c] *ten Cubits* in diameter, or *from brim to brim*, & *that it was round*, & *that a line of thirty cubits* did *compasse it*; When as one that has read lesse than the first six books of *Euclid*, can demonstrate, that this is not altogether exact. The *blood* is not now thought by their Learned Phisitians to be the *Life* [d] *of a Creature*, but the Vehicle; nor do their Astronomers believe that the *Stars*

[c] 1. *Kings* 7. 23.

[d] *Levit.* 17. 14.

are

are leſſe than the Sun or Moon, though in [a] *Geneſis*, they are *called the two great Lights*. Their Solution of theſe Objections is thought eaſy, & in every under Graduat's mouth, *viz*, That the holy *Pen-men* wrot of ſuch matters either *briefly* (as that meaſure of a *Circle* is to this day ordinarily expreſs'd) or elſe according to the *Hypotheſis or Opinion* then aſſented to by the *World*; but where the *Sacred Word* ſpeaks to us *doctrinally*, 'tis to be believ'd on pain of *Damnation*.

[a] *Gen.* i. 16.

In the like manner we ſay of *Councels*; for when they determine *matters* of Faith, we are to reverence thoſe *Determinations* as the true & indiſpenſable Doctrine of *Jeſus-Chriſt*, nor can any man be a Catholique that denies them; but concerning their other *Orders* & *Decrees*, we look upon them as the *Conſtitutions of Men*, & therefor they may be mended & made better, ſuſpended or abrogated, as alſo confirmd a new, or wholly changed. *Saint Paul* himſelfe wee ſee, ſpoke ſometimes by *commiſſion*, ſometimes by *permiſſion*, ſometimes *from God*, ſometimes *from Man*; Nay the firſt *general* [c] *Counſel* that ever was (& where the *Apoſtles* themſelves were aſſembled) show's us the vaſt difference between it's *Determinations* of Faith & other

Determinations of Faith in Councels are divine & infallible, their other Decrees may be only humane.

[c] *Act.* 15.

other *Canons*; for having declar'd, that *Doctrine* false & pernitious, *That none could be saved, unlesse circumcised*; it was immediatly a part of our *Beliefe*, & no true *Christian* offer'd for the future to deny it; whenas the Decree *against eating things strangled & blood*, being only a humane Ordination, it became afterwards every where null & void. And thus act's the *Church* at present, all the Faithfull throughout the World religiously owning, *if any Doctrinal Point be determin'd*, That the Almighty, has now spoken as well as formerly to them; but when things *that tend to Government* art agreed upon, they have no *obligation* 'till after formal *Promulgation*, national *Acceptance*, & such *Methods* & *Rules* as the *Church* from time to time has establish'd; all which is evident by the *Councel of Trent*, whose *Doctrine* is as much acknowledg'd by the *Catholiques in England, France, Germany, &c.* as it is in *Rome* it selfe; yet as to it's *Constitutions* & other *Canons*, they are not only *unrecieu'd* in many *Countries*, but will perchance never be admitted as long as the World stands. Nor is this *Refusal* reckon'd a *Dis-obedience*, but the making use of a *Right*, which the *Church* has declar'd, belong's to *temporal Governours*: & therfor it was, that though

Na-

Natural Children or Baſtards became legitimate after the mariage of their Parents, by an antient *Canon* of the *Church*, & acknowledg'd by the *Pope* in the 3. *Councel of Lateran*, yet the English we ſee, would never recieve it; for they ever cry'd *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. By this then 'tis apparent *there are* (according to the Tenets of Catholics) *as well humane as Divine Canons in Councels*, & what is of Man, may ſometimes without doubt have defects, and inconveniences in it; which is the Cauſe that ſeveral *Conciliary Transactions* & Decrees, are diſallow'd by Zealous & faithfull Chriſtians without undergoing either temporal or ſpiritual Cenſures thereby; *for things only of Faith (as I ſaid) neceſſitate & binde up our Belief.*

So much then for Councels in general; but the Caſe now in Controverſy needs not all this, it being quite of another nature; for I ſuppoſe my *Adverſary* will grant, *That the Emperours of the East & Weſt, the Kings of England, France, Hungary, Jeruſalem, Cyprus, Arragon, &c.* may agree together to purge their Kingdoms of Hereſy; & to be aſſur'd of the performance of the Compact (ſince the negligence of any one might prejudice the Reſt) they may

Of the Concel of Lateran & it's Canon for depoſing Kings.

may also consent if they please, *That the Church upon failure, shall give their Dominions to another that will performe the League or Treaty.*

These Princes, Reader, which I name, *were all here present by their Ambassadours*, as [a] *Matt. Paris*, & the other *Writers* of those times tell us; & had they made such a compact among themselves it had certainly bin as lawfull as that at *Smalcald in Germany* against Popery, or any other Protestant Confederation. But several affirme that neither the *Councel* nor these Monarchs intended by this Decree *the deposition of Kings, but petty Lords & Feudetaries*; who were then (it seem's) the great supporters of the *Albigenses*, the dangerous and increasing Heresie of those times; & this is the more Probable, seeing [b] *That the Earls of Tholose, Foix, Commings & Prince of Bearn, were their Protectors*; as Fuller has it in his Holy War. Be pleas'd also *Reader* to let mehere put you in minde, that though my *Adversary* in translating this *Canon* sayes, *The Pope shall give away the Delinquents Kingdom*, yet the Latin expression is not *Kingdom* but *Terram*, id est *Lands* or *Possessions*; nor is there mention made in expresse termes of Kings at all, which corroborates the Opinion of those

[a] *Mat. Par. K. John. p.* 262.

[b] *Full. H. War p.* 147.

those who affirme as I said, *That the Deposition of Kings was never intended by the Canon.* In short then upon what consideration soever this *Canon* was made, whether at the Request of so many great Potentates, *as a general Warranty in their Confederation*, or secondly that *Monarchs were not intended by it*, or Lastly whether, for prevention of Heresie, *'twere only an Offer of the Councel*, and (as I show'd you before) *Consiliary Decrees are often bare Offers or Propositions* 'till they be approved & confirm'd by Princes & other Governours. I say upon what confideration soever this Canon was made, *Succeeding Kings disown'd their subjection*; nor is it any part of our *Religion* to beleeve them thus oblig'd, as my *Adversary* himselfe well know's. For do's He not acknowlege (when he mentions' the *Divines* that hold the *Deposing of Kings* Lawfull) [a] *That Marianas book was condemn'd*, which evidently proves (seeing the Catholiques that condemn'd & burnt it, were never in the least censur'd by the Church) that there was nothing against *Faith* in the action. Did not the whole *University of Paris* April 20. 1626. (as may be seen in several *Treatises* both *French* & *English*, & particularly in that calld, *Questions about the Oath of Alle-*

[a] *Answ. Apol. p. 5.*

[a] Quest. about the oath of Alleg. p. 4.

Allegiance)[a] Condemne with all the Formality imaginable *Sanctarellus's Book* treating of *Heresie & Scisme* printed at *Rome* 1625. because it had in the 30. & 31. Chapters Propositions, *That the Pope for Heresie might depose Kings & exempt their Subjects from the Obedience due to them.* Were not the said *Propositions* also *condemn'd* in the very same yeare by the whole *College* of *Sorbon*, the *Universities of Caen, Reims, Poitiers, Valence, Bourdeaux, Bourges*, as appeares by the *said* [b] *Book*, & in the *Collections* of the *Acts & Decrees* sold every where at *Paris*; & who I pray question'd these *Condemnations*, or ever said that the Catholique Faith & Doctrine was thereby deny'd? *Nay the very Jesuits* (to the full satisfaction of the Parliament of Paris) *subscrib'd this Condemnation*, as the french [c] *Mercury* & their other writers have it.

[b] Quest. about the oath of Alleg. p. 6.

[c] Mer. anno 1626. p. 92.

But to come home to our own Country; if ever *Papists* could thinke the *Pope had a Right to dispose of a Crown & command Subjects under pain of damnation to oppose their Governour*, he had it in *Queen Elizabeth's* Reigne, who was not only a reputed *Heretique* but condemn'd as an *Apostate* also. Yet we finde in Ireland (*which my* [d] *Adversary say's his Holinesse gave his Bastard*) that the Protestant Bishop

[d] Ans. Apol. p. 24.

Bishop of [a] *Armagh* (as I mention'd before) acknowleged at the Councel-board, *That the Catholiques of the Pale had ever bin Faithfull to the Crown in all the sollicitations of the Pope*; & which I pray of those Lords or Commons was denounc't a Heretique for his coolnesse, or opposing the Popes Souldiers sent by him to subdue that *Island*, as the *Reformed Historians often upbray'd us*. In like manner, *if England were given* (as my said *Adversary* has it in several places of his *Anti-Apology* & other writings) by *Sixtus Quintus to the S'paniard*, it seems the *Catholiques*, who suffer'd even then cruel *Persecutions* for their *Faith*, did not owne his *Right of Donation* as a piece of their *Faith*; for though they were often in armes in behalfe of the *Queen of Scot's title* (so religiously acknowleg'd by them) yet not a man stirr'd for the S'paniard in 88. as both [b] *Osborne* & *Sr. Robert Cotton* & others have it. Nay my Adversary himselfe confesses, the *Duke of Medina* (chief Commander in that great Expedition) sayd [d] *That his sword knew no distinction between Catholique and Heretique*; which also plainly shews *how little our Papists were friends or well wishers to his successe*; & yet for all their not owning the *Popes Gift*, who are more

[a] *Sand. K. ch. 1. p. 685.*

[b] *Osb. Mem. Q. El. p. 28.*

[c] *Cot. Posth. p. 156.*

[d] *Ans. Apol. p. 46.*

applauded & esteemd even at Rome for their constant zeale in *Religion* then all the Catholiques of those times? More over dos not the *Author* of the *Conference between two Protestants & a Papist*, tell my Adversary; [a] *That in the said Queen's Reigne (besides others) Dr. Bishop, a man (according to Cambden) devoted to the See of Rome, wrot against the Decree of this Councel?* which might assure us that that Canon or Decree is not of Faith among *Papists*, when they can write against it without being condemn'd; & especially if we consider my Adversarys pretty Expressions all along to this purpose, *That those of our Nation have bin the high Flyers for the Pope; & that the old Gentleman is extremely sensible of what touches his Copy-hold & Kitchen.* To conclude 'twere a mortal sin in any *Catholique* & he would be presently deem'd a *Heretique*, if he deny'd *Transubstantiation* because it is *a point of Faith*, & defin'd so (as my Adversary has told us) even in this very *Councel*; but as *for the absolute Power of depriving Kings of their Dominions*, 'tis not only held by several as a meer Opinion, but false also, as we see by others; Nor will any Divine, though never so earnest for the Popes Jurisdiction, say *That they that hold the contrary must recant*

[a] pag. 21.

No Divine reckon's them Heretiques that deny the Popes power of deposing Kings.

befor

before they can have the Sacrament, and *be reckon'd in the state of Grace*; for thus it fares with them that deny the least Point of Faith. Divines are so far from this, That *Belarmin* himselfe (urg'd by my *Adversary*, & all Protestant Writers for his Holinesses great Champion herein) having written sharply against *Barclay's* denying this *Power*, & having cited (as my Adversary now does) the *Councels of Lateran*, *Lyons* &c. together with the Sentences of *Popes*, & the Opinions of many Divines for it, taxes the said *Barclay* after all, only of [a] *Temerity and Arrogance*, without a word of *Heresie*; which the Cardinal must, & would have expressly layd to his charge, had he oppos'd any thing of Faith, or what in Conscience he was oblig'd to believe. Nay in steed of calling him *Heretick*, or thinking him not still a member of the *Church*, he concludes his Treatise thus; „ [b] I expected not (sayes he) this trou- „ ble (of defending the Popes Power in my „ old Age) from one, *that professes him-* „ *selfe a Catholique*, for those I value not, „ *who are out of the Church* & continually „ write against me.

[a] *Bel. Opusc. p.* 830.

[b] *Be. lib. p.* 846.

What can therfor more plainly show the obstinacy of many of our Adversaries, & their constant endeavours to impose on

their Followers, than to charge us thus with the *Opinions* of men, as a real part of our *Religion*; and to insist upon it again & again, when we our selves tell them the contrary; I say we our selves, who professe (as the whole world knows) not only to suffer the utmost rigour of humane Lawes, rather than disown *the Real presence, the Churches Infallibility, Purgatory, or any Point of Faith*, but also by our permanency in Principles, are actually depriv'd of the greatest Favours of the Kingdom; Favours I may well call them, since there is no preferment in the Nation so great, which the high Birth & Breeding of Catholiques make them not capable of, would they but condescend to the least abnegation or juggle. Tis so strictly our Tenet, not to deny the least Article of Faith, *that with Eleazar we must sooner go to the Torment, than seem to do it*; so that if any Catholique should transgresse herein, he is presently deem'd by all of our Profession in a damnable condition, yea though he were sure to convert the whole Kingdom by it.

No Catholique cã seeme to deny any Article of Faith without committing a damnable sin.

Nor is it to be wonderd at, that we can upon no Account whatsoever lawfully commit a *mortal sin* (& denying our Faith is a Crime of the highest Nature,) when we acknowlege that a *venial sin* must not be

be done let the Advantage be never so great; & therfor it is that the *Jesuite de Barry* tell's us, not in any deep *Theological* Book, which comes to the hands of a few only, but in his *Practical* Lessons, and *Meditations* calld the *Solitude of Philagy*, purposely written to informe persons of all sexes & conditions; I say he tell's us there, a *That it were better that all Angels were annihilated, & that all the World perisht, than offend God by one only little sin, even of an idle word*; & certainly to preserve the Univers from Destruction, would make any offense, much more a small one, lawfull, if sin by our Tenets (& what sin is greater as I said, than denying our Faith) might be warrantably done, for the ushering in of good.

a Med. 2. p. 91.

This the Reformed Government well knew to be our Doctrine at all times, otherwise why would they impose *Oaths*, & the like upon us, seing nothing can discover or binde them that have power to deny & dissemble their Religion? But we may well pardon our Protestant Enemies, if to delude the world, they defame us in this particular, seing when it is for their purpose, *they will with confidence question even our Loyalty, & services to the King and his Father*, though all Christendom has

with Admiration acknouwlegd our sufferings & Zeale, & their Majesties themselves have bin often pleas'd to own them.

Of the Popish writers for deposing Kings.

But my Adversary cryes (as the rest of his Partys doe) That he findes this Doctrine against Kings in our Writers, & so mentions *Baronius*, *Bertrand*, *Lancelottus*, *Peron*, *Rossæus*: as also among the Jesuites, *Belarmine*, *Suarez*, *Valentia*, *Parsons*, or *Cresswell*. *Mariana*, he names, though he confesses *him condemn'd*, & out of these Authors he cites several places, where they amplify the Popes Power to a very high degree, & where they affirme, *That as Jehoida depos'd Athalia, so may Popes deal with wicked Kings*; with much more to the same purpose.

Whether Iesuits be enemys to Kings.

As for the Jesuites, their Order is still in being, & must answer for their own *Doctrine*; nor are they backward to give satisfaction in this, or any other Points, that shall be demanded of them. I must also affirme that for my owne part, were I no Catholique, I should not thinke them *King haters*, seing *Kings* would hate them, instead of making them, as they do, their Confessors & Instructors. Nay, at my writing of the present Treatise they were in this office, not to the *Pope* only, & several *Ecclesiastical Princes*, but to the

Emperour,

Emperour, *to the Queen of England*, *King of France*, *Queen Regent of Spain*, *King of Poland*, & I thinke to the now *King of Portugal*, as they had bin to his *Father* & *Mother* formerly. The Dukes of *Modena Bavary*, *Newburg*, & many other Regulets are their Penitents also, all which consider'd, I look upon them to be faithfuller Subjects, than *Protestants* own them; for Kings though *Papists* are not alwayes Fools. But if *Jesuits* were Villains, what is it to the *Catholique Faith*, for it is to prejudice that, that my Adversary is so severe? Must *Cambridge* be *Babylon*, or the *English Reformed Religion false*, because one of it's *Colleges* or *Societies* is taxt of Hypocrisie, & of being an enemie to Kingship, *as Emanuel College* was reckond by many, especially in the Reigne of Charles the first.

Whither the Opinion of some Doctors that hold deposing Kings lawfull may in justice be call'd the Catholique faith.

But to the Question. Suppose that the above cited Authors & 20. more should hold what our Enemies lay at our doors: can any one with the least pretence of Reason call this their Opinion the *Catholique Faith*, when 'tis, as I said, *rejected* and *censured*, not by single *Writers* only, but by *Universities*, & *whole Bodies* of famous men *even of*

the *Catholique Communion*? nay, *Cardinal Perron* himselfe declares, whom my *Adversary* here mentions as a mighty stickler for this *Doctrine*, & therfor[a] cites forsooth *his public Oration, made on behalfe of the Clergy of France in Defence of it*: I say the *Cardinal* declares (even in this very *Speech*) *That the Proposition was problematicall* (or disputable) *in Faith*, as may be seen both in the *Speech* it selfe, & in its[b] *Answer* by the *President Miron*: & truely bad I time, I would give you also a particular Account of the Cause & progresse of that businesse; but what I have a here say'd, is enough to discover the insufficiency of the Allegation, to wit, *That 'tis a part of our Faith*. Besides, had the *Cardinal* instead of a *Problematical Proposition* spoken never so positively, no man can say, *Catholiques* are, or ever were oblig'd to follow his *Opinion*. Would not my Adversary, do you thinke, exclame at me, if I should assert, *That the Church of England holds the Presbyterians to be the great Anti-Christ mentiond in the Revelations*, because the *Bishop of Ossory* has written a Folio (never yet answer'd or condemn'd) to that purpose? & may not we have *Authors* as extravagant as his *Lordship*, without having their *Opinions*

[a] *Ans. Apol. p. 6.*

[b] *Vid. French Mercury for the yeare 1615. p. 313.*

passe

passe for the *Establishd Doctrin of the Church.*

Certainly if the *Romish Religion* may in justice be thought to teach *Rebellion*, because some *Doctors* have held that *Kings may be deposd for Apostacy, & the like*, & yet, as I show'd before, no Author (though never so violent) ever asserted, *that He that deny'd this power in the Pope was a Heretique, or out of the state of Grace*; which sufficiently prov's *'tis no part of our faith.* I say if the Romish Religion may in justice be thought to teach Rebellion because some Doctors have held *the deposition of Kings*, the consequence of the Argument will cut my *Adversarys* throat, since then his own *Church* holds *the most irreligious & destructive Principles, that can be imagin'd by men.* For did not all the *Bishops* that were consulted, except *One*, & the great *Armagh* among them, declare to the late *King* (& declaring & writing is the same thing) *That he might* assent to my Lord *Stafford's* Sentence *for the quiet of the People, & avoiding publick mischiefs*, & so perswaded him to passe the Act, though he told them over & over, *he was no wayes satisfied in Conscience with it?* This they did, & yet this shall not make me say (notwithstanding our Enemy's are so unjust to us) *That the Protestant*

Protestant Doctrine of this nation teaches Murther, or that the Acting against Conscience for humane Advantages is warrantable, though the opinion of so many *Prelates* is comparitively more considerable to the *English Church*, than a thousand *Doctors* are to the *Catholique*. Do not we also finde that several of our learned *Lawyers*, have affirm'd, *This* or *That* a *Prerogative* of the *Crown*, when others as learned have told us the quite Contrary? yet for all their contention *the Law of the Land is not to be called false, or answerable for the various fancies of its Professors*: & if so Why must the *Opinions* of some of our *Divines* be presently lay'd at our dores as the *Doctrine of our Church*, especially when all the World see's, that without sin or heresie, we may, & do deny it? In short, if *ten* or *twelve* Catholiques have written (as my Adversary cites in his *Answer to the Apology*, & *Seasonable Discourse*) *that Kings are deposible*, *Fa: Caron* has made a *Catalogue* of more than 250. *Defenders* of the contrary, as is mention'd in *the late Controversial Letters*.

But now before I go further, I must here again reply (according to my present method) to what my Adversary in his *Reasonable Defence* has against these last

Argu-

Arguments (for I us'd them in my *Answer* to the *Seasonable Discourse*) & I am sure his solution will amaze you not a little. In the first place, having call'd the *Bishop of Osserys* Book (though his Lordship was a Prophet in Israel) *an angry single Assertion*, he fall's upon me with greate heate, for mentioning the Prelatical determination of the Kings scruple, & [a] *sayes, that one would thinke at the hearing of my Story, that a Synod of all the Bishop of the* 3. *King domes had bin conveen'd, when alas there were but five in all, & the Question was not what I falsly set down, but to use Mr. H. L'Estranges words (which generally the Writers of King Charles his life exactly accord with)*, The Bishops were only to resolve, whether the King might, (his Conscience entire) passe the Bill against the Earl. The Bishops determine thus, That the matters of Fact & Law, were to stand apart; for the first, his Majesties presence at all the proceedings might enable him to passe his judgment: & if his judgment inform'd him that the Earl was guilt lesse, he might not in Conscience condemn him. For the last, being matter of Law, what was Treason, & what not, the Judges, they said, were oblig'd by their Oaths to direct him. *This my Adver-*

[a] *Reas. Def. p.* 13.

H. L'Estrange Words cited by the Reasonab: Defence p. 13.

Adversary says was the total of their joynt Result, therfor he calls the World to judge, if all the Bishops of England, except one, teacht Murther to be Lawfull, when of the whole Order there was but one single Person, who can reasonably be imagin'd to have promoted the Earl's Death; & as for what I suggest against the A. Bishop of Armagh, is a great & manifest Calumny, as appears from a particular Account inserted in Sr. W. Sanderſons History, & might be further evidenc'd by uncountroulable proofs, if need were. Where upon calling this Argument of mine *an unſuccesfull attacque upon the Bishops*, he falls on my Instance of the *Lawyers*, which[a] he sayes, *is as little to the purpose, for it seem's by me, that a little difference in opinion about a ſmal branch of the Prerogative, is to be put in balance with Deſtroying & Murthering Kings; & that the judgment of a Lawyer or two has the ſame influence on the Conſcienee of men, as the Reſolution of ſo many Doctors, who in concurrence with the Pope have fill'd Europe with blood & Confuſion in every age.* Then he concludes, *that though I shrink theſe high ſtoln Writers to* ten *or* twelve, *yet Bellarmine reckons* 72, *& others more; ſo that if what ſide moſt Writers are of, ſhall paſſe for the Doctrine of our Church, he will not decline the iſſue,*

[a] *Reaſ. Def. p.* 14.

not

notwithstanding Fa: Carons muster, & the Author of the said Controversial Letters: For they (Reader you must know) tell us, as I just now hinted, [a] „ That Caron in „ his Loyalty asserted, what betwixt „ Canonists & Divines, Schoolmen & Fa- „thers, Popes, Universities, Kingdo- „mes &c. has made a Catalogue of more „than 250 Defenders of the Contrary „ Doctrine. [a] 2d Cent: Let. p. 31.

Thus you heare what my Adversarys smart & full Anfwer is; & as for what I said of the English Bishops, let any man judge, whether it imply'd a Synod; I am sure my words imply a respect to them, since I imputed not the transgression of their eminent Brethren to the Doctrine of their Church; nor can any thing more evidently demonstrate how much we are abus'd, & ill represented in other accusations, then thus to suffer in things that are in print, & even before our eyes. Besides I have charged nothing on the Prelates (whom his Majesty advis'd with, in this unhappy affaire) but what I can make appeare by witnesses beyond all exception & cavil. Nay H. L. whom I alwayes reckond to be H. L'Estrange (at least wise his Autority is as good) gives us in his life of Charles the 1. (printed 1655 for Ed. Dod, & H. Seil) the

the account of that buſineſſe in theſe words

a H. L. K.C.1. p. 257. „ a The King deſird *the Biſhops as Caſuiſts* „ *to adviſe him* what Courſe to ſteer between „ thoſe two great Rocks, to wit a *People* „ & a *Conſcience*, both male-content, both „ equally clamarous. The major part (con- „ tinue's he) of the Bps. urg'd the opinion „ of the Judges, & the Votes of Parlia- „ ment, *That he was but one man*, „ *That no other Expedient could be found* „ *to appeaſe the People*, *that the conſe-* „ *quence of an enraged Multitude would* „ *be very terrible.* Upon theſe conſidera- „ tions they advis'd, yea partly per- „ ſwaded *his Majeſty, though not yet fully con-* „ *vinc'd, to paſſe the Bill*; which laſt *Sentence* (to the end it might be more obſerv'd & taken notice of) this *Author* Italicates, or prints (as I my ſelfe have at preſent done) in another Character.

And now Reader tell me I beſeech you (had I no other proof & authority for my Aſſertion) whether I might not lawfully write, *That all the Biſhops, except one, that were conſulted with, did adviſe him to paſſe the Act againſt his Conſcience*, which is in effect, *The teaching* (as I ſaid) *Murther, & Acting againſt Conſcience for humane Advantages, warrantable;*

Table; nay Sr. *Will: Sanderson*, who strives to vindicate both *Armagh*, & the rest, sayes; [b] *It is confest by both Authors* (to wit, two Protestant Writers mentioned by him before) *That the Judges & Divines also were not willing to give their Opinion point blanc against the Vote in Parliament*; and to show yet more plainly that he is of the same sentiment, he concludes, *That certainly if they had, they might well have expected to be further questioned for it.* Now in reality it was to go point blanc against the Vote of Parliament, had they told his Majesty *He could not passe the Bill, if in his Conscience he though the Earle* guiltlesse; for every bod y knew his *Conscience was against it*, & so he had often told them. Besides if this were *the total of their joynt Result* (as my Adversary would fain have it) how came the worthy *Bishop of London*, (whilst the others were exclaim'd at by the whole nation) to be so particularly esteemed, & cry'd up? for nobody pretends that he did any more, *than positively advise the King not to go against his Conscience?*

[b] *Sand. K. Char. 1. p. 113.*

But why do I spend time with inferences & by. Autorities, since I have a witnesse at hand of more worth & credit, than all the world besides; I meane the King himselfe in his incomparable Book upon this Sub-

ject,

ject. For after he has acknowledg'd his fault to God with all the hearty expressions imaginable, he thus writes; „ I was perswaded by those, that I
1 Eikon Bas. chap. 2. n. 2. „ thinke wisht me well, to choose rather „ *what was safe, than what seemed just,* „ *preferring the outward Peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God:* which account is sufficient to make good my Assertion, & to shew *what was the Counsel of those Casuists*; for he that lou'd the Bishops so well, would have cleer'd them, had not this bin their Advice, who hop'd thereby to *ingratiate themselves with the prevailing Party*, that then was so fierce against them; I say this account is enough to make good what I allege & to assure us, *that the Advice of these Bishops was to comply with the Parliament.* But his Majesty to put all things herein out of Controversy, 'add's in the very next page, these words. „ I „ have observ'd that those, *Who counseld me* „ *to signe the Bill*, have bin so far from „ recieving the Rewards *of such engratiatings with the People*, that no men have „ bin haras'd & crushd more than they; „ *He only hath bin least vext by them*, who „ *counselld me not to consent against the Vote* „ *of my own Conscience*; but I hope God has

„ has forgiven me & them, the full rash-
„ nesse of that buisinesse. And now Reader,
let me aske you here againe, whether
the *Bishops* advised the *King* to follow his
Conscience or his *Interest*?

As for the *Primat of Armagh* I never suggested (though I could, & that with Protestant Autority too) any thing againſt him in particular; as may be seen by my foregoing words; therfor why dos my *Adversary* say, that I calumniate him? But as for the Vindication, *or particular Account of that Transaction*, which he say's is in Sr. *Will: Sanderson*, be pleas'd to know, *That 'tis only this Bishops Testimony (given that Historian) under his own hand*; & who will be guilty if this will serve the turne? Besides, the Vindication is altogether false as to this matter; for the Primat Confesses *He was there*, & the King, we see, *Charges the Advice upon all of them but one*, whom every body grants (& *Charles* 2. sufficiently acknowleg'dit since his Returne) to have been the then *Bishop of London*, as I laid before.

a *Sand. K.ch.* 1. *p.*414.

Thus much then *for my unsuccessfull Attaque* (as he calls it) *upon the Bishops*, when God knows I never intended to meddle with them; nor had I any other drift but

to show by that pertinent Example, *That the opinion of eminent men in a Church, is not alwayes it's Doctrine of Faith*; But how well he has defended these *Prelats* (had they bin attaqued) I desire the World to consider; As also whether my Instance in *Lawyers* already mentioned be not to the purpose, If Learned, & wise men among them do Zealously; & *bonâ fide* justifie the Procedure of their Governours to be the law of the land, when in reality 'tis not. And whereas he say's, *That small Branches of the Prerogative have bin only question'd by one or two Lawyers*, 'tis like the rest of his Assertions; for every body knows *the chiefest Flowers of the Crown*, have bin often endanger'd by Professors of the first Classe; & who was a frequenter *Champion* herein than the *great Cook* himselfe, one that could somtimes erre as well as others?

But my Adversary thinks still the parity improper, *because Divines have influence* (*he sayes*) *upon the Conscience of men, which Lawyers have not*; So that it seemes by this new Logick, a Divine cannot teach or write false, *because his function is to govern the Conscience.* Nor is his next Consequence lesse odde; for he upbraids us with our *Popes & Doctors filling Europe every.*

every Age with blood & confusion; & yet there is no Country in *Europe* where *Protestantisme* has got footing, (though it be but little more, than one single Age or Century old) that has not felt (as you shall presently see in this very Section) the utmost distraction & madnesse that earthly things are capable of. In like manner when I urge (as you had it just before) That if 10. or 12. Writers (which is the number he cited, & no *shrinking of them* in me) have written *that Kings are deposable*, Father *Caron* had made a Catalogue of more than 250. of the contrary opinion. I say, when I urge this, He answers; *Bellarmine reckon's 72. for the Popes power over Princes.* And what then I pray you? Ergo, 72, is more than 250; for as to his further newes, *That other Writers tell us of more than* 72, 'tis a piece only of his wonted Rhetorick; seeing no man can be so foolish to believe he would have stopt at *Bellarmine*, if he could have produc'd a larger muster-Rolle. Besides, it is to be here remember'd, that our present dispute is not about the number of these Authors (though in that, Father Caron may allow him three for one) but whither this *Opinion be a part of our Religion*, which I have now evidently made appeare to be malitiously charg'd upon us.

And by the way *Reader*, though the common cry be alwayes againſt Papiſts, *that they are more wedded to the Pope, than to their reſpective Princes*, the Direct contrary nevertheleſſe moſt evidently here appear's; ſeing ſome *Doctors* only (& thoſe alſo ſtiffly oppos'd by their Fellows) affirme, *that Kings for deſerting the the Faith may be thus chaſtis'd*, whenas all *Catholics* unanimously agree *that the Pope himſelfe is depoſable, nay, ipſo facto depos'd upon any Apoſtaſie whatſoever.*

The Popes proceedings againſt King Iohn oppos'd by Catholiques

My *Adverſary* being thus un happy in his *Account of the Determinations of our Councels & Divines*, his Argument from the *Actions of Popes, their Decretals or Bulls*, muſt needs be as unſuccesfull, ſince *'Tis no Point of the Catholique Faith to believe his Holineſſe unerrable*; & therfor Papiſts were ſo far from approving the Proceedings againſt *King Iohn*, that *Speed* (as furious againſt *Innocent the* 3. to diſparage thereby our Religion, as Mr. *Pryn*, himſelfe) tells us, [a] *That even in the Clergy, many of eminency* (*to wit the Biſhop of* Durham, Wincheſter, Norwich, *&c.*) *deteſted the cruel Courſes of the Pope.* And as for the gift of his *Crown* to the *Church*; the ſaid *Author* further has it: [b] *That* (by reaſon of many juſt Exceptions againſt what

[a] *Speed. K. I. p.* 507.

[b] *Speed. K. I. p.* 512.

what had been already done) a *Charter adorn'd with a golden Bull, (the former beeing only sealed with wax) was at a meeting in Saint Paul's* Cathedral (*upon pretence of other buisinesse about the Interdict*) *presented for more authentique solemnity at the high Altar, where, in the King's & Legat's presence, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, himselfe also both a Cardinal & a Legate (& in this, acting the office of a stout Patriot & noble Prelat; as the Arch Bishop of Dublin had done at the first Grant)* stept forth *in the name of the whole Clergy & Kingdom, & boldly and earnestly presented at the same Altar in solemn manner his Appeales against the Charter, so execrable to the whole world; as likewise he had us'd formerly all possible Endeavours, to divert the Kings heart from that Subjection to the Pope & Court of Rome.* Nor dos this Historian stop here, but having told us, [a] *that all the Peers accorded with the Arch-Bishop in the said Appeal*, He also show's; [b] That (*upon some claime & Flourishes made*) *this Answer was returnd the Pope by Edward 1. which was also enacted in a general Parliament by the Prelates, Lords & Commons, (in Edward the 3. Reigne,) That for so much that neither King John, nor any other King could bring this Realme and people*

[a] *Ib.*

[b] *p. 513.*

to such thraldom, &c. If therfor the Pope thence forward should attempt any thing therein, the King with all his Subjects should with all their Forces & Powers resist the same, & rather hazard all their Lives and Livelyhoods, than endure that Usurpation.

a *Ib.* Nay this Author further sayes; a *That 'tis not improbable the Pope was no lesse asham'd of his latter than of his former Grant*, & then cites his Autority which mentions. b *That a Parliament was held at London 1214.* (being the next year after the said Grant) *where the Arch-Bishop sat as President with all the Clergy and Laysty, & there by command of the Pope, the Character, Fealty, & homage, by which the King was oblig'd to the Pope was absolutly releasd on the 7. July.* Thus Reader we see the sence of the nation, both then and afterwards as to this Affaire, and yet in matters of Religion, no place was ever reckond more Catholique & Zealous. Nor would my Adversary I dare say (did not his cause want Calumnies), have lay'd this at our dores as a crime, knowingfull well how our Popish Ancestors oppos'd it, & that all Protestant Writers de-

b *Author Eulogii M. S.*

c *Mart. K.H.2. p.36. & K.Rich. 1.p.48.* scribe *King John* to be the most undeserving Governour we ever had. For (besides his c *Rebellion against his Father and*

Brother,

Brother, the [a] *Murthering his Nephew to usurp the Crown*, his [b] *Irreligion*, *Atheism*, *& the like*, as may be seen in *Martyn*, *Daniel*, *Heylyn*, & others) Twas *he that lost our whole Interest either by Conquest or matches in France*, as the said [c] *Heylyn* has it, & discontenting all his Subjects never oblig'd any, unlesse the *Mayor & Corporation of Lyn*, who have his Sword & Cup in great esteem to this day. This is yet no excuse to the Legate, or any faulty Person, but only shows the Nations unhappinesse, in having (as Sr. *Robert* [d] *Cotton* stiles him) so *Licentious a Soveraign* to defend their Interest; *for no King* (as I sayd) *by our Tenets is the worse son of the Church for maintaining his Rights & Privileges.*

[a] *Heyl. Geog. France. p. 89.*
[b] *Dan. K. I. p. 119.*
[c] *Heyl. Geog. France p. 97.*
[d] *Cot. H. 3. p. 1.*

Now for *Transubstantiation* which he is pleas'd to joyne with the buisinesse of *King Iohn*, 'tis very true that in the *Councel of Lateran*, the word was first authoritatively made use of, as formely the word *Trinity* was in the Councel of *Nice*; but though *Trinity* and *Transubstantiation*, as to the expression, are of mans Institution, yet the sence of them was in *Scripture*, & held from age to age. Nay the word *Transubstantiation* it selfe, was used by several grave Authors before the said *Councel*, even

The sence of Transubstantiation holden from the beginning.

even by our own Countrymen, as may be seen in [a] *Hovenden*, & [b] *Blisensis* one of *Henry* the *Second's* Chaplains. Nor can any rational man imagin, That (besides the other Eastern Christians) *the Greek Church would hold Transubstantiation*, as Writers of all Places acknowlege, & among them *Dr.* [c] *Fuller*, a Pillar of the English Protestant Religion; I say no rational man can imagine, *that the Greeks would hold* it, had it been wholly an Invention of the *Church of Rome*; seing 'tis apparent they are so averse and jealous of any thing, that seems to be of her Ordination, that they not only renounce (as every body know's) *the Agreements & Concessions of their Emperours & Clergy, at the Councels of Florence, Lyons, & elsewhere*, but exclame at what even *Protestants* acknowlege fit & Orthodox, as at the word *Filioq*, in the *Nicene Creed*, and this because the *Romanists* put it in.

a *Hov. H. 2. p. 576.*

b *Blis. Epist. 140. p. 256.*

c *Holy war p. 174.*

But that you may not be ignorant of my Adversary's full Cry against Popes in this Section, be pleased to heare the summe of his remaining charge against them. He says [d] „ That from *Gregory the* „ 7. time they made such a trade of depo- „ sing Princes, *that no weak King could* „ *weare his Crown, but at the Pope's Courtesy*,

d *Ans. Apol. p. 4.*

&

„ & that *Boniface* the 8. declares in these
„ words; *We say, define & pronounce, that*
„ *it is absolutly necessary to Salvation for every*
„ *Creature to be Subject to the Bishop of Rome.*

I answer, that as for the *Popes trade of Deposing weake King's*, my Adversary still further discover's the ill luck of his Accusations, & his strange way of Expressing himselfe, seing in the following Century, & a little more after *King John*, we had greater store of *weake Kings*, than either before or since; to wit *Henry* 3. *Edw.* 2. & *Richard* 2. & yet the Popes offer'd not to take away their *Crowns*, or ever made any private advantage by those troublesome Times; but on the contrary he assisted them against their Rebels, notwithstanding he had bin, (as many of the Court of *Rome* reckond) not a little disoblig'd by them. *Popes deposing assisted our weake Kings.*

For in the first place, though it was *the Popes* only Interest, to side with *Lewis the French Prince*, & our rebellious *Barons* against *Hen.* 3. had he seriously intended to have subjugated *England* by virtue of King *Johns* late gift; there being a far surer reliance upon an usurper & his Posterity, than on the Lawfull Heires, who at best would be questioning the Churches Right, and perchance at last quite

quite disown it, as we see *de facto* it happen'd; Nay (prescinding from the usual concessions, which all Usurpers gladly afford their Favourers) his *Holinesses* title in reality preceded *Lewis's*, & once acknowledged by him (of which there could be in the beginning no doubt) 'twould become justifiably valid against him & his for ever; yet notwithstanding this evident wordly Advantage, the Pope by his Legate (as [a] *Holinshed* & all *Writers* affirme) *convok't the Bishops, threatned the French, cursd the Barons*, & in fine, was never quiet till the said *Henry* (then almost wholly depress'd) was set upon the Throne of his Ancestors, though but a Child of 9. yeares old, and therfor incapable of making any obligatory promisse to the Apostolique See; and had he bin of age, twas certain, that even by the *fundamental Lawes* of the Land he could not *dispose of the Kingdom*, or make it in the least Tributary. Twas in this manner then against his own Interest, that the *Pope* dealt with this *weake Prince*, as all *Historians* deem him; & it may be my Adversary call's this, *wearing the Crown at the Popes Courtesy*; for in all humane probability, without his Assistance, he had bin utterly put by. Nor did the *Pope* excom-

[a] *Hol: Hen: 3. first year of his reigne.*

excommunicate him, or take advantage of the great *Factions* of those times to be reveng'd; for the *Rebels* would certainly have own'd the *Pope* or any thing else, seing to ruin their *King*, they could even recieve the *French Prince* for their *Soveraigne*. I say the *Pope* did neither excommunicat him, nor side with his *Rebels*, *though this very King sent his Nuntio* Martyn *out of the Kingdom with most scornfull & bitter words; refus'd admittance to his Holinesse, when he desir'd to come hither; & disavowed also (by his Embassadors at the Councel of Lyons) the pretended Subjection from his Father King John*, as may be seen at large in [a] *Speed* & elsewhere

[a] *Speed* H. 3. p. 533.

In the next place to come to *Edw*: 2. (pursued *by his violent Lords*, as [b] *Daniel* calls them) The Pope instead of countenancing their Actions *sent* 2. *Cardinals to compose those troubles, but the Rebels peremptorily refus'd his Letters & mediation*, as may be seen in the said Author. Nor was this the only kindnesse of the See of *Rome* towards that King, but presently after *Pope John* 22. (as [c] *Holinshed* has it) „ being inform'd of the great Destruction „ & unmercifull war which the *Scots* made „ upon the *English*, & namely that they „ spar'd neither Church, Chappel nor Abbey,

[b] *Dan. Ed.* 2. p. 175.

[c] *Hol. Ed:* 2. *anno* 1320. p. 325.

„ Abbey, he sent a general sentence under „ his *Bulls*, unto the *Arch-Bishops* of *Can-* „ *terbury* and *Yorke*, appointing them, „ that if the *Scotish King*, would not re- „ compence *King Edward* for all *harmes* the „ Realme of *England* sustain'd, & also „ make restitution of the goods taken out „ of the Churches, & Monasteries, they „ *should pronounce Sentence against him, &* „ *his Complices*; & yet the said *Edward*, following the example of his Father, *Oblig'd the Bishops* (contrary it seemes to the old custome) *to petition for the restitution of their Temporalities*; & by a formal Renunciation, *He made them openly renounce all words compris'd in the Popes Bull prejudicial to the Crown*, as may be more fully seen in a *Cook's Institutes*, as also urg'd heretofore by the *Author of the Conference* against my *Adversary* himselfe.

a *Lib. 3. tit. Præm.* b *p. 22.*

Lastly for *Richard the 2.* None of all our Kings past'd more nipping *Lawes* against the *Popes* power & Authority in this Realme, than He; for (besides *the restraining Ecclesiasticks from possessing lands, without the King & chief Lords licence*) *Banishment was enacted for those that should receive any Collation from Rome, Death for bringing in Excommunications, severe*

penalties

penalties on those that thence procure Provisions, &c. all which Statutes are still extant, & mentiond also by [a] *Speed*, & [b] *Baker*; Yet for all this the *Pope* was so far from making a party against him, or helping them that had a minde to dethrone him, (& Rebels are never backward to comply with those they thinke can, & will countenance their Actions) that [c] *Trussel* tells us, one of the Articles against him at his Deposition was, *That having obtain'd Acts in Parliament for his own Ends, he had procur'd heavy censures from the Pope, to compell his Subjects to observe & perform them, contrary to the honour & antient privilege of the Kingdom*; by the which, it evidently appear's that the Pope was his friend, & how sensible the Rebells were of it.

[a] *Speed. Rich: 2. p. 617.*

[b] *Bak. Rich: 2. p. 166.*

[c] *Trus: Rich: 2. anno 1399. p. 44.*

Thus much then for these *weak Kings*, so closely following one another, whose particular Actions gave occasion also of disgust to the *See of Rome*, & whose Reigne afforded it as many opportunities of Revenge, as could be desir'd or wisht for; therfor why should my *Adversary* so falsly & to so little purpose use this vain Insinuation, especially since he well knows, if his Calumnies were true, *That Popes are answerable to God for their*

Popes are to be answerable for their own actions.

their Actions & not our Religion; it being no part of the Catholique Faith, as I said, *to believe them unerrable.* Far be it from me to justifie all that has bin done in our Kingdom, & yet many charges are but the meere exaggerations of our Enemies; neither follow's it if some *Popes* had misus'd their power, that all have, no more than that all Princes are Tyrants because there have been those that have deseru'd the Title. I say far be it from me to go about this; for Popes are not only flesh & bloud, but are often *wrong inform'd*, & have also like other men in Autority *Flatterers & villainous Officers about them*, who have bin as much detested by zealous Papists as by any partial Protestant; *for scandals we know will happen, but wo be to them that are the cause of them.* If such persons have sometimes imposed, when they found their Advantage, 'tis no great wonder, for all ill men do it; nay the wicked of our own Countrey have shown us, by most notorious examples, what opportunity & selfe Interest can do; for we never had *a weake or irresolute Prince* since the Conquest, (yea though the Pope were his Friend) *that has not bin either actually depos'd by his Subjects, or at the very next dore to it.* And by the

the way *Reader*, let me beſeech you to conſider that there are not above 10. or 12. Popes, againſt whom the Reform'd Party either at home or abroad ſpit their venom, though there have bin now about 250. in that Chair, as may be ſeen in [a] *Heylins* Catalogue, *Helvicus's*, and elswere; & therfor ſuppoſing that all our Enemies falſe ſtories were true, I defie mankind to show me the fifth part of ſo many ſucceſſive *Governours* ſince the Worlds Creation, of whi ch there have not bin far more that have abusd their Power; & yet this diſadventage *Popes* alwayes have, that their Actions are infinitly more liable to ſcandal, & cenſure than any ſupreme Ruler whatſoever.

The ſmall number of reputed ill Popes.

[a] *Heyl. Geog: p. 179.*

To conclude then, all *actions* of Popes (as I ſaid) with their *Bulls* & *Decrees* are not held divine by Catholiques, but have bin often oppos'd (eſpecially in Temporals) by eminent Perſons of our Profeſſion: And if ever *Boniface* the 8. ſaid (as my Adverſary urges) *That it was neceſſary to ſalvation for every body to be Subject to the Bishop of Rome*; he meant (otherwiſe he would have found Papiſt's enow of a contrary opinion) *Subjection* in *Spiritual matters*; the want of which has drawn too another Curſe upon this Nation,

Popes Bulls often oppos'd by Catholiques

Nation; it having never done since it's Revolt any glorious actions in the world, but many infamous ones; & yet heretofore no people did ever greater things than we. Nay over & above the great Advantage & emolument which happens to Christianity in general by thus owning the *Apostolique See*, (as I have already shown you in my [a] Preface, even out of the fam'd *Sr. Edwin Sands*) all Religion is at it were quite destroyed here in England, & therefore 'tis no marvel if *Baker* (who liv'd in the late *Kings* Reigne) should in his Entry on *Henry the Eight's* Reformation, confesse, [b] *The Church was so shaken; that it has stood in distraction ever since.*

[a] *Vid. p.* 12.

[b] *Bak. H: 8. p.* 290.

Popes give not any Kingdos away but those of Apostats

And pray Reader let me here minde you of this: That *Popes* never give away (as men call it) a *Kingdom* from a *Prince* simply *Heretical*, but from one that is an *Apostate*, and so revolted from the *Church*; for we see that if *Henry the Eight* were condemn'd, nothing was done to his son *Edward*. And again though *Queen Elizabeth (who went to Masse in Queen Maries time, & also had actually owned the Pope by her Ambassadours in the beginning)* was deprived of Soveraignty by the Bull of *Pius Quintus*, yet no such censure or condemnation

past

past against *King James*, *King Charles* the first, or this our *present Monarch*: & the reason is, because they alwayes profess'd themselves *Protestants*, & never acknowleg'd his *Holinesse* as their *Bishop* & *Pastor*; Therfor *Protestant Magistrates* are not in such dangeras their spiritual *Teachers* would fain make the World believe.

Having now given an Account concerning this Calumny, even according to my *Adversarys* own stating it, be pleasd to consider also whether any thing can be more pleasant then to have 3. or 4. *Clergy men* (I meane our present *Writers* against *Popery*) keep such a doe, and seem so concernd about the danger of *Catholique Princes* (for we are still upbrayded with their slavery, & the *Pope's* power) whenas the Princes themselves, their Favourites, Privy Councellors, Generals, & other great Officers of Trust (whose fortunes depend wholly on their Masters happinesse & safety) apprehend no such thing, but on the contrary thinke them very safe, & absolute. Nay, is it not beyond imagination surprising to heare our Enemies, & most particularly my *Adversary* cry, [a] *That 'tis the safety of the Kings Person, & the Prerogative of the Crown*, that moves their *Zeal* against *Popery*? & yet every

[a] *Self-Diss. p.* 10.

body see's to what they have reduc'd the very *Monarchy* it selfe; a thing fore seen, & foretold too, without the Help of Astrology, from the very beginning of the Reformation. Besides, who would have thought (were it not my *Adversaries* usual custome willingly to forget the Actions of his own Party in his Accusations against us). that he should terme *Catholique Doctrine* the *Seeds of Rebellion*, whenas there were never greater *Rebel-Teachers* than the *Reformed Divines*; as may be seen by the following instances.

The first Reformers Rebel. Teachers

a LUTHER say's, *You complain that by our Gospel the World is become tumultuous: I answer, God be thanked, these things I would have, & wo to me miserable if they* were not. And this *Patriarch* also (*as* b *Sleydan his Historiographer* acquaints us) Determin'd, *That in those dangerous times not only the Law it selfe, but also the force of Conscience & Necessity may drive them to take weapons, & make a League in their own Defence, though the Emperour himselfe, or any one in his name should move war against them.*

a *Lut. Com. p. 57.*

b *Sleyd. Hist. lib. 8. p. 100*

c ZUINGLIUS declares; *If the Roman Empire, or what other Soveraignty soever, should oppresse the sincere Religion, & we negligently suffer the same, we shall*

c *Epist. l. 4. p. 68*

be

be charged with contempt, no lesse than the Oppressors themselves; whereof we have an Example in 15. Ier: Where the Destruction of the People is prophecied, because they suffer'd their King Menasses, being ungodly, to be unpunishd. And therfor 'tis no wonder if in another [a] *Treatise* he says, *That when Princes do against the Rule of Christ, they may be depos'd.*

[a] *Zuing: Tom. 1. in expl. art. 42. p. 84.*

[b] CALVIN affirm's, *That earthly Princes do bereave themselves of Autority, when they erect themselves against God: yea they are unworthy to be accounted in the number of men, therfor we must rather spit in their faces than obey them.*

[b] *In Daniel. c. 6. v. 22. & 25.*

BEZA besides his prodigious Actions in *France* (as not only *Davila* but [c] *Heylyn* mention's at large) wrot a Book *of the power of Magistrates*, which *Mr.* [d] *Sutcliffe* confesses, *armed Subjects against their Prince.*

[c] *Hist. Presb.*

[d] *Answ. to a libel supplicatory p. 71. 75.*

Sundry *English* men wrot wholly of this Argument [e] *That the Councellors (& rather than fail) the very people were bound to reform Religion, whether Queen Mary would or not, though it were by putting her to Death.*

[e] *Bancroft's Dang: Posit. 34.*

I shall at present trouble you Reader with no more citations, but recommend you (if you are further curious)

to Mr. *Brereley's* excellent Book, calld the *Protestants Apology*; for I content my selfe now with showing you some of the Tenets & declarations of these supereminent *Doctors*, which ought to be more justly charged upon *Protestants* in general, than the *Opinions* of private *Catholiques* upon us; becaus *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *& Beza* were the first *Reformers*; & if the Spirit of God taught them so much truth, as they are said to preach, why should this be more questionable than the rest? Therfor the *Pope* being *Pharao*, & *Popery Egypt* (as Ministers daily affirme in their Pulpits) we may then well say: *These are thy Gods O Israel, which brought the out of the Land of Egypt.*

Examples of Princes depos'd by the Reformed.

But our new Apostles rested not in the *Theory*, for they fell to the *Practice* also; & whereas the *Popes* since the first Rise of the Reformation, never gave away (even by word) but two Crowns viz *England* & *France*; the Reformed & their partizans have actually depos'd the Sovereigne Princes of *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmarke*, *Swedland*, *the United Provinces*, *Transilvania*, *Geneva*, & other places of lesse Note; And for Rebellion & Tumults they have bin eminent,

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(as you shall nowsee) in all Places where this Gospel has bin preached. This every Historian can tell you, nay blinde *Dr. Heylyn* plainly saw it, therfor did all he could (when the respective Countries in his Geography were to be handled) to purge the Reformed from the Rebellion truly laid to their Charge: but finding *that washing a Blackmore was labour in vain*, he was forced with his Friend *Sleidan* to fly for shelter to this abominable & prodigious Argument, viz [a] *That Christ foretold, that Fathers should be against their sons, and Brothers against Brothers for his sake, & that we finde not in any Story, the true Religion was induced, or the corrupt about to be amended without War & blood-shed.* But though the said steddy Doctor like a true Protestant Champion (it beeing then for his purpose against the just Reproaches of Papists) thought fit thus to excuse the first Reformers; yet afterwards when the Zeal of Reformation with the same Pretences that it had outed Popery, set fire on his own Coppy-hold, He falls upon his Brethren, & shows us at large not only their Rise, but their [b] *Emboyling also of the Kingdoms & Estates of Christendom*, and so treat's

[a] *Heyl. Geog. p.* 314.

[b] *Title to the Hist of Presbyterian.*

a *Vid. contents of the said Book.*

a *from their strange practices at Geneva, to their manifold Seditions, Conspiracies & Insurrections in the Realme of France, the Belgick Provinces, Scotland, East-Friesland, Higher Germany, Transilvania, Hungary, Austria, & Bohemia, &c.* by which may be seen, whether this part of *Protestantisme* were of God or no. Now concerning *Lutherans*, who in truth comprehend the rest, all other Sects being only the Subdivisions of *Calvinisme*, I say concerning *Lutherans*, they cannot pretend their call, to be more divine; for their Actions have bin as detestable, (as appeares by several *Protestant Writers* in the said *Mr. Brerely's* workes) & their *Doctrine* much more corrupt, even in the Opinion of the *Church* of *England*, who stifly now disown the *Real Presence*, which these hold with so much earnestnesse & passion.

'Tis true the *Protestant Church of England*, denyes these *rebellious Tenets* of their Fellows; nor can it be expected but they should, for who would run the risque (our Kings being once thought so absolute in Spirituals) to be undone by venting such Notions, seing Prince & People are of the same Religion. When they were different (as it happend after the death

death of *Edw 6.*) who but they depos'd their Lawfull Queen *Mary*, & put up *Iane Grey* in her place? And what fury came to a higher pitch (even to the eternal Dishonour of the Nation) than theirs, againſt the magnanimous *Mary Stewart*, who was, if not lawfull Queen, at leaſt lawfull heire to the Crown; but of theſe two Inſtances more ſhall be ſaid in the 22. Section of this Treatiſe. Nor did theſe *Principles* reſt with the *Primitive Fathers* of this Church, but deſcended to their Succeſſors; for a while after, even in *Kings Iames's* Reigne (not to ſpeake of men of leſſe Quality) A. Biſhop Abbot (Primate of all England) would have the *Palsgraves* unhappy Coronation by the *Bohemian Rebels*, to be *countenanced here, with Bonfires & ringing of Bells*, as may be ſeen by his [a] Letter to *Nanton*, the then Secretary of State. And becauſe it was for the *Worke of God & making the Whore deſolate* (as, he ſayes, *Saint Iohn had foretold*) he approves not only of theſe Proteſtant proceedings in *Bohemia* (& how juſt they were let [b] *Dr Heylyn* be Iudge, that treat's of that abominable buſineſſe at large) but adds in that very Letter, *That he hop'd Hungary would run the ſame Fortune alſo.* No marvel then if this Doctrine

[a] *Cabala p.* 110.

[b] *Hiſt. Presb. lib.* 12.

(yea

(yea & Practice too) *That all things are Lawfull against Popery*, incited many well meaning men to fight against *Charles* the first, *only because they really thought him a Papist*; which was also *a cause of the whole war*, if the Authority of a *French* [a] *Protestant Historian* be of force. But I am sure,) & every English man know's it) nothing was more common than to heare *Church of England men* them selves say, when this very King was abroad: *That should the Pope & his Crew pervert him, they would oppose his Restauration.* Nay this very yeare 'twas openly propos'd not by Laymen only (as all the publick *Gazetts* of Christendom proclam'd it every where) *That Popery should by a positive Law be a Bar even to the Crown*; & no doubt if such a Law could have been validly made, but my *Adversary*, who now exclames *at deposing Kings for Religion* (because he fancies it for his present turne) would soon have defended the contrary opinion, when he once found he could much more injure us that way. Nor is this partiality unusual; for *Mr: Marvel* (a protestant of so much wit & note) show's us in his *Rehersal Transpros'd*, That (the late King's power being for the Clergy's turne) nothing was more in their

[a] *Continuation of De-Serres p. 96. anno 1649*

their mouthes than the *Prerogative*; & that there were among others, the *Manwarings*, the *Sibthorps* (as well as the *Harſnets* in K. James's Reigne) that could teach, [a] *That if his Majeſty ſhould command the City of London to ſend him all their Wealth, they were bound to do it, as the Arch-Biſhop expounded the Sermon*; with many other things to this purpoſe. Yet our Author tells us of *this* [b] *Aphoriſme of a then great Prelat* (the Royal Autority being it ſeem's urg'd to their Prejudice) *That the King had no more to do in Eccleſiaſtical matters, than Iack that rubd his horſes heels.* In the like manner the ſaid ſmart Writer farther has it; That whilſt our preſent King was perſecuting *Nonconformiſts*, an Eminent *Divine* could then write, [c] *That an univerſal unlimited, & uncontroulable Power was the natural Right of Princes, antecedent to Chriſt, & firmly eſtabliſh't by the unalterable Dictates of natural Reaſon, univerſal Practice, Conſent of Nations, &c.* & more over; *That it was abſolutly neceſſary, that Princes have that power to binde their Subjects to what Religion, they apprehended moſt advantagious to the public peace*; but within a yeare after when the King had granted *Toleration*, the caſe was quite altered, & the very

[a] *Reherſ. Tranſp. p.* 288.

[b] *Ib. p.* 139.

[c] *Ib. p.* 142.

very same Person wrot [a] *That to invest the Supreme Magistrate with an unlimited & uncontroulable Power, is clearly to defeate the efficacy & obligatory force of all his Laws, &c*; so that the Popish Priests are not the only men, I am sure, that chop & change for their Interest; & there would be soon found Protestants, if King-ship were inconvenient, that would approve & imitate the worst Maxim that ever was yet cited by our Enemies. Infinite are the Examples, if more were requisite, that might be still produc'd to confirme what I have already said; & truely no body could have easily beleev'd (had not my Adversary & his party show'd so often this strange piece of assurance) that he should make this *Doctrine* about Kings (were his Allegations all granted) so mighty an Argument against our *Religion*, whenas the said *Doctrine*, is what the most eminent *Protestants*, as well in *England* as elswere, have taught, & what their Followers have practised in all Countries, where they have had the least Autority or Power.

[a] *Ib. p.* 141.

One word more & then I have done, and that is concerning an honest Gentleman, Author of the *Afternoons Exhortation* against *Dr. Pierces Sermon*, whom my

my Adversary calls in this Section a *Poysoner of the People*, & to disparage the more our *Religion*, he would fain tax him of Disloyalty, because the said Gentleman has these words that follow: *As for the Roman Pastor's indirect power over Kings*, in ordine ad Spiritualia, *by which the See Apostolical in some rare Cases hath (at the request of all Christians) proceeded to censure & deprive Kings, (a thing so much talkt of, & so little understood by the Reformed Divines) I leave that Question to be decided by the two Supreme Powers when occasion shall be for it, which may not happen to the end of the World, it being a very rare case, in which it were not better that such matters were wholly left till the day of Judgment.* Now my adversary inferrs, if the Pope should deprive our King, this Gentleman would not meddle between them; Whenas his true meaning was, That this Case between Popes & Kings will happen seldome, if ever; & should it happen, he will not as to the right, *or vid juris*, determine the nice pretensions of each party; yet this does not argue, but that he would side, as to Action (*or vid facti*) with his Prince against any Person whatsoever. And thus we daily see the French do; who swear

they

they cannot tell whether *the Law called Salique* be forged; or whether in Justice *Lewis* 14. *descended from the male Line*, or *Charles* 2. *descended from the Heirs general*, ought to have the Kingdom; but still they declare, they will fight for their present Monarch against all Mankind. This I say, is the Sence of the Author of the said *Exhortation* & this he is ready to acknowlege & subscribe to; but let the *Accusation* passe as well as the rest, for drowning men are still catching at every twig.

Thus Reader have I answer'd to all the particulars of this Calumny; *That our Principles are inconsistent with Government*, by showing *That deposing Kings* is no part of the *Catholique Faith*, which *Catholique Princes* do very well know; as also by letting you see, That *Protestants*, even of the first Classe, have not only taught this *Doctrine* as divine, but have, wheresoever they came, confirm'd it by their Actions, in as pernicious & wicked a manner, as 'tis possible for the heart of man to concieve.

VII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

My *Lords* & *Gentlemen*, Had this bin a new Sect not known before, somthing perchance might

might have bin doubted, but to lay this at their dor s, that have govern'd the civilized World, is the miracle of miracles to us.

7. Answer.

Here he say's, *That they that have read most, & had the most experience, can best cure us of the Wonder; & that* King James *(who had reason to know us) said in his Parliament Speech:* „ *That as on the one part,* „ *many honest men seduced with some errors of* „ *Popery may yet remain good & faithfull* „ *Subjects; so on the other part, none of those* „ *that truly know & believe the whole* „ *grounds & School-conclusions of their Doc-* „ *trines, can ever prove either good Christians,* „ *or good Subjects.* Then *He asks, when it was that we govern'd the* civiliz'd World; for he say's, *The* Eastern, *&* Southern Churches *never were under our* Governmēt, *nor the* Western *neither, but when* ignorant *&* barbarous.

7. *Reply.*

As for King James's Expression here mentioned by my Adversary, 'tis not only little to the purpose, in the present Question, but so far from being disadvantagious

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to Catholiques; that it highly demonstrates their great virtue in general, seing his *Majesty* in his first *Parliamentary Speech* after the discovery of the *Gunpowder Treason*, and exasperated also by all imaginable Artifices of our Sworne Enemies, should yet speak with some kinde of Commendation of us. But this is a Blessing in all our misfortunes, & which constantly accompanies Truth; That the longer we have bin known to our Protestant Princes, the more Assurance they have of our Fidelity; & thus it happend even with King James himselfe, as I shall show you, when we come at large to discourse of that detestable[a] Plot so unjustly charg'd upon us.

[a] *Vid. Gunpowder Plot:*

Whether the Pope has governed the civiliz'd World.

But truly I know not what my Adversary meanes by his asking, *When we govern'd the civiliz'd World*, & saying *that the Eastern & Southern Churches were never under the Government of Rome*, whenas no body that has read History, but knows the great Power the Roman Bishops have had over the Oriental Churches, recorded even by the Greek Fathers; so that *Pope Victor* (who liv'd in lesse than 200. yeares after Christ) *excõmunicated the whole East for not observing Easter after the Roman way*, as not only [b] *Eusebius* has it, but as [c] *Grimston* also & every Reform'd Author (that treats of those

[b] *Eus. Hist. lib. 5. ch. 24*

[c] *Grimst. Estates Empires p. 436.*

those times) mentions. Nay the holy *Council of Nice* (as appeares by its *Synodical* Epistle) *confirm'd that Paschal Ordination*, which was a sufficient owning of the Popes Jurisdiction, since it never question'd the a fore said Excommunication. Many also have bin the unquestionable Appeales to *Rome*, as all *Ecclesiastical Writers* show us, out of Saint *Cyprian*, Saint *Augustin* & others; & therfor the *South* as well as the *East* has had a dependance on the *West*, even in the very *primitive times*. But I aske my Adversary here pardon, because in the *primitive times*, they say *the Pope himselfe was a Protestant*: & I do veryly believe he was so, as much as any other Christian. Yet though we are now agreed, I foresee we shall not long continue friends, for I must know of him in this denyal, how he come's to forget the *Antichrist* of *Antichrists*, I meane *Boniface* the 3. baited by every School-Boy, & mentioned by no Protestant, that I remmember, without some mad Epithet, except by *Helvicus*; who calling him plain *Boniface the* 3. sayes [a] *That the Tyrant Phocas granted him the Primacy over all Churches*, & that this *Privilege was promul'gd & declar'd in a Counsil at Rome about the yeare* 606; which is almost

[a] *Hel: Cronol.* p. 108.

1100.

1100. yeares agoe. If then Reader the *Pope* not only deem'd himselfe *Universal Bishop* but was also ownd so by the *Universal Emperour*, might not I with Modesty say, *Popery govern'd the civiliz'd World*, when it govern'd the whole world? But I willingly forgive any man this, that has the Confidence to say, *We did not governe the Western, 'till it grew ignorant & barbarous.* It may be he meanes, that those Parts have bin so euer since Christ's time; otherwise ('till the late Reformation) there was no place on this side *Greece* that has not own'd the Pope's Jurisdiction; & *Greece* it selfe has don it, even as lately as Hen: 3. time, as Sr. *Richard*[a] *Baker*, [b] *Fuller*, & many other *Church* of *England* Writers acknowlege

a *Bak. H: 3. p. 99.*

b *Ful. Holy war p. 173.*

When *Rome* once made her selfe Mistresse of all Arts & Sciences, the *West took the name of the only civilized Place*; therfor had not my Adversary forgot civility (as he has often done in his Writings against us) he would not have made so odde a cavil; & I dare say he is the first Protestant Author (though they have bin as bold as *Hectors* in their Denials) that affirmed *the Church of Rome never governed the civilized World.*

Whether Papists or Protestants more Ignorant.

But since my Adversary mentions here *Popish Ignorance*, let us consider some few par-

particulars, & we shall soon finde where the *Ignorance* lies, as also we may the better judge of the solidity of the Accusations against us, being charg'd with nothing oftner by all Protestants in general, even from the profound *Doctor in the Chair*, to the Learned *Cobler*, when they come once to treat of Popery.

First then, if not being able to speak Latin be a part of *Ignorance*, there's not one in five hundred in England (though reputed a notable man) that can hold a Discourse therein, whereas in the very *Popish Netherlands* (which are not 6. hours sail from us,) nothing is more ordinary than to meet with *Trades men*, nay with *Waggoners* & *Mechaniks* that can do it.

In the next place, if not to have studied *Philosophy*, to wit *Logic*, *Phisic*, & *Metaphisic* be *Ignorance*, I leave it to those that have bin *English Universitys* men to remmember what is practiced there, especially amongst young men of Quality: yet every body almost among *Catholics*, that go not to Trades, finish a whole Course methodically; so that few *Gentlemen* or *Noblemen* of any parts, but at their three years end, publickly defend, not a scambling question or two, *but a com-*

pleat Body of Philosophy, against all Commers for a whole day together.

As for *Divinity* which is so intricat a study, & where so many Difficulties are to be consider'd, what can be expected in *England*, when the *Professors* are forc'd to read to the Walls; for seldome are there 6. Auditors present, & they not constant neither; whereas beyond seas no Schollar scarce misses a Lesson, & if by chance he should, he has it presently dictated to him by some of his Companions; & therfore at the end of their studies (being 4. yeares after their Philosophy) every one (notwithstanding he be of a mean capacity) can give some Account also of all *Theological Questions*; & this was our method too in *England* formerly, as may be seen by our excellent *University Statutes* still in being, though now not much observed I am sure, to the losse of so many incomparable Witts, in which no Countrey more abounds than ours. Nay we may see by my Adversary's owne words, how studying in general has flag'd here since the Reformation; for He tell's us, *That in the year* 1360. *Armachanus complain'd in a Sermon before the Pope & Cardinals at Avignon, that Oxford from* 30. *thousand Scholars in his time, had not then six thou-*

Sanf. Discourse p. 26.

thousand; which notwithstanding equal near thrice the number of the present Students of that famous & noble Academy:

But why do I talke of the *Learning of Catholiques*, since there is no *Library in England*, in which at least 7. of 10. of the choiseſt Books in all Sciences, are not written by them. And becauſe I will make no compariſons with our own Countrey men; I shall only deſire the Curious to conſider even *France* where *Proteſtants* are numerous, & there in every Dioceſſe he will finde a Clergy Learned to Admiration, & ſo outdoing the *Hugonot Miniſtery*, that one would thinke they lived not in the ſame Region.

whether Ignorace be a help to Popery.

But the greateſt Wonder of all is, to heare *Proteſtants* ſtill tell us, *that Ignorance is a helpe to our Religion*, whenas they ſee that not only the *Catholics*, that have bin from their Infancy bred ſo, are of the chiefeſt Ranck in *England*, and inferior to none in all natural & artificial Endowments, but that our *Converts* were, and ſtill are of Perſons of Eminency both in their Parts and Quality. And whereas heretical ſeducers ever prey upon the meaneſt and ſimpleſt of the Land; & if they come to be conſiderable; 'tis

at last by their Number; On the contrary our *Missioners* had rather deale in *Universities*, than shops, becausé deep Points of *Divinity* (being [redacted] to be demonstrated *a posteriori* & by Deductions) are best comprehended by the wise; and therfor they not only gladly preach to the Learned & Noble, but as I said, when they chance to make *Converts*, 'tis ten to one but they are Persons of prime Note, either for their Families or Accomplishments; & who instead of their former wordly hopes, contentedly resolve for *Persecution*, which to the amazement of their Enemies they so magnanimously undergo.

Ignorãce keep's up the Protestant Religion.

Is it not then pritty to lay *Ignorance* at our Dores? & yet nothing else keep's up the *Protestant Religion*; for in all Rebellions the great Differtions happen in the heate of the Fury, & then every Argument beeing easie of disgestion, & carrying some seemingweight with it, Discoursing & Arguing the Cause is alwayes desird by the Seditious; but after that time has a little allay'd the Passion of men, & dispose's them for Consideration, no artifices are more used by the Ringleaders, than that their Partizans should avoy'd the conversation of those, that would examine & question

queſtion the Reaſons of their Proceedings; for when Peoples eyes once come to be a little open'd, Rebels muſt never more hope to encreaſe. And thus we know it happend in the late civil Confuſions here, where thouſands at firſt blinded with Paſſion, were catcht by every pittifull Sermon or Libel; but after a while when they came to reflect on the *Why* & the *Wherfore*, the diſloyal Preſſe grew ſerviceable to the King, & the Cavalier Party were ſo far from fearing that any of their Children or Relations would Apoſtatize, that there was hardly a *Superſtitious minced-pye* taken away from them (as it uſually happend every Chriſtmas) but ſerv'd to convince a Round-head of his Treaſon by that time he had eaten it up. Now ſeing all Rebellions (whether in State or Church) are of the ſame Nature, the effects of them cannot be different; & therfor at the beginning of the *Reformation* (as deſperate a Revolt, as that of the *Roman Aſſociats* in the *Carthaginian* Tempeſt) whilſt the People of England, as well as of other places were mad after Change & Novelities, nothing could then ſatisfy them, *but Reading Scriptures, Queſtioning of Juriſdiction, Controverſial Sermons, Book after Book, challenging to*

Disputes, and in short, the sound of the Trumpet was the only melody, all pruninghooks being turned into Speares, & the plow share into a two edged sword.

But no sooner had a *Fabius* *Maximus* or two observ'd their *March*, view'd their *Intrenchments*, & considerd their *Armes*, being a perquisition after the learned *Languages*, *Criticismes*, *Mathematiques*, *experimental Philosophy*, & what else men now call the *Belle Letere*; I say no sooner had our wary *Dictators* seen this, but they attaqued them their own way, & presently all Catholique Countries flouris'd to the highest Degree even in that very learning, so that there was not only a stop put to their further Conquest, but they that were wont to be *Defiers of Israël*, shun'd afterwards Encounters, wholly relying on *sanguinary* & other *penal Lawes*, though once their great & main Argument against Popery. And so affraid they are that *Catholique Religion* should be again known, that they have long left no Stone unturn'd, to discountenance & hinder all Disputes; for they found that few ever happen'd which produc'd not the same effect, with that of the Jesuit *Fisher* & Bishop *Laud*, to wit, *the Conversion both of the doubting Persons, and of*

Protestants feare Disputes

of Several of the Auditory also. Nay, the Plot against arguing, & publicly defending their Cause, took so with *Sr. Henry Wotton* (a Protestant of no meane fame & note) that he turned it with the greatest exultation imaginable into this Apothegme, *Disputandi pruritus, Ecclesiarum Scabies*; englisht thus by the [a]Writer of his Life, *The itch of Disputing will prove the Scab of the Church*; which is so odde a saying for a *Protestant*, & so unbefitting their Cry, who are ever declaming against *Popish Blindnesse and Ignorance*, that nothing in honour could have been lesse expected from them than *Goliath's* Challenge, *O ye servants of Saul give me a man, that we may fight together.* But Truth at one time or other will out, let Enemies do what they can; & as they thus fear the Examination of their own Wares, so they dread the exposing of ours; & this to that Degree, that none of their Children ever travel beyond seas, but (besides the usual gift of a *Bible*) are strictly conjur'd by their Parents *to hold fast to the Truth, & to beware of the Jesuitical Syrens in their voyage*; Whenas on the contrary, if any *Spanish, Italian*, or other *Catholique Cavalier* goes into *Protestant Countries*, his Relations are so far from *Admonitions about*

[a] *Vid. Sr. H. Wotton's workes p.* 81.

Re-

Religion, that they apprehend no more danger in the journey, than if he were to travel into *Turky*; for the *Reform'd Faith* is at length so well known to the world, *by the Disorders & Confusions it has caus'd in all Countries, by the Libertinage it has taught, & by the Atheisme it has introduc'd* (men being persuaded still to doubt, 'till at last they doubt and question all things) that 'tis no wonder if all the Party now flie to *Ignorance* for Patronage, & that *Disputandi pruritus* is their declared Enemy.

VIII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Did *Richard* the *first*, or *Edward Longshanks* suspect their Catholiks that served in *Palestine*, and made our Countries Fame big in the Chronicles of all ages? or did they mistrust in their dangerous absence, their Subjects at home, because they were of this Profession? Could *Edward* the *third* imagine those to be Thaytorous in their Doctrine, who had that care and duty for their Prince, as to make them (by Statute) guilty of death in the highest Degree, that had the least thought of ill against the King? Be pleased that *Henry* the *fifth* be remembred also, who did those Wonders of which the whole World does still resound; and certainly all History will agree in this, that 'twas *Old-Castle* (since sainted) whom he feared, and not those that believed the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church.

8. Answer.

8. Anſwer.

To this he ſays, *The Reigns of theſe Kings were in the dark times, & Corruptions were dayly growing upon us; yet that* Richard 1. *bequeathed his Pride and Lecheryto the Clergy and Monks. That* Edward 1. *outlawed the Clergy, for obeying the Pope in not paying Taxes. That* Edward 3. *and* Hen. 5. *made good Laws againſt the* Popes *uſurpation: and* Becket *vext* Hen. 2. *more, than* Hen. 5. *feared* Oldcaſtle. *Moreover, that all theſe Kings did not differ ſo much from* Proteſtants, *as the* Papiſts *now do: and to conclude, he asks, Whether the Pope did not force* K. John *to do homage for* England, *wreſtle with* Edward *the* firſt *for* Scotland, *and often lay claim to* Ireland?

8. *Reply.*

Certainly my *Adverſary* never expected to be anſwerd, ſince he offer's to ſay, *That our Anceſtors differ'd not then ſo much from Proteſtants, as we at preſent.* I would fain know, what *Proteſtant Doctrine* was allowed in that age, which we in this reject? Were not the *Clergy* & *Religious* in thoſe dayes in the height of their Power?

Were

Were there ever more *Pilgrimages, Vowes, Penances*, & all sorts of *Devotion*, which the *Reformed* call Superstitious? Were not the *School men* then in their greatest lustre; & in short, could a *Publican*, *Lollard*, *Wickliffian*, or any other *Sectary* stir, but the whole Kingdom presently detested him? Has he not rail'd all along against *Popes*, & cry'd in the former Section; *That from Gregory the 7. downward, they made such a trade of deposing Kings, that no weake one could weare his Crown, but at the Popes courtesy*; nay do's he not mention againe here *the Popes usage of King John*, & yet three lines before he must needs have it, *That in these Kings Reigns* (who were all of them, except one, *King John's* Successors) *Corruptions were growing, & that they differ'd not in Religion so much from Protestants, as we do at present* But this Confidence & way of arguing must not be wonderd at; for without tricks & artifices, how could the poor people be kept so long in Ignorance, & so inflamed against *Popery*?

As for the Lawes made by our Kings, if any were against *Usurpation*, God reward them for it, & to this all *Catholiques* will say *Amen*. But having, *Reader*, already at large [a] acquainted you concerning *King*

[a] *Vid. Rep p.* 132.

John

John, be pleasd to obſerve this new *Scotish Charge*, & then tell me, whether it be not as full of Malice, as can be imagind: For he would have the World think (by his placing this Accuſation after the ſaid *King John*, & by calling it the *Pope's wreſtling with Ed: 1. for the Soveraignty of Scotland*) there was ſome notorious Injuſtice done by the *See* of *Rome*; when as the matter was only this, as you may finde it in *Holinshead* a moſt violent *Hiſtorian* againſt *Papiſts*, as every body knows. The *Scots* having alwayes an Animoſity againſt the *English*, & not knowing how to reſiſt the Victorious Armes of *Edward*, then ready with a great Army to fall upon them, ſurrendred the Kingdom (or pretended it) to *Boniface the* 8; who thereupon ſent to the *King* to deſiſt, becauſe the *Crown* belonged to the Church: *Edward* immediatly returned an Anſwer, (& ſo did all the *Barons of England*) to manifeſt the *Kings* Right, & the invalidity of the new Pretence. *The Pope* (ſayes [a] *Holinshead*) *when he deliberatly ponder'd the King's Anſwer, with the Letter directed to him from the English Barons, waxt cold in the matter, & followd it no further.* Thus ſtood the Caſe, & thus *Catholiques* are wronged by ill men,

[a] *Hol. Ed.* 1. 311.

nor

nor is there any difference between a false Aggravation, & a downright Lye. In the same manner also are we used in the Accusation of *Ireland*; for the *Pope* never medled with that *Kingdom*, but since the *Reformation*, & so invaded it in the time of *Queen Elizabeth*.

[a] *Vid. Rep. 22.*

The parity between Saint *Thomas Becket* & *Oldcastle* is doubtlesse very odd; *Oldcastle being a Rebel, with Complices* in Armes, as may be seen in [b] *Stow*, [c] *Trussel*, &c. against *Hen:* 5. The Other disputing *only about Privileges belonging to Priests*; Just as if our *Peers* should stand upon the freedom of their Persons, were there a designe to have them imprisoned, or tryd for their Lives after the maner of other Subjects. Besides all Princes of Christendom then, as well as now, owned *Becket* for a *Saint*, whenas no body, unlesse such a man as *Fox*, thought *Oldcastle* deserv'd any thing but the Gallows; being convicted & hang'd for Treason according to the known Lawes of the Land. And by the way I must here again desire my Reader to consider the unchristian endeavours of our Enemies to delude & incense People, not caring for truth in their Accusations, provided they can but be believd; for how many *Protestant Writers* are there

St. T: Becki's case.

[b] *Stow: H. 5. an. 1414. p. 344.*

[c] *Trus. H: 5. p. 94.*

there now a dayes (becauſe moſt men have heard much noiſe about this Prelat) that, after a Repetition of the *Faſtings*, *whippings*, *going barefoot*, *& other mortifications of Henry the ſecond* at his Shrine, tell us *that the Pope impoſed thoſe cruel Penances on him, though the King, as all Papiſts grant, had no way conſented to the murther.* I ſay how many *Protestant Writers* are there now, that to delude People, & to make Papiſts odious, cry thus every where; whenas the ſaid *Penances* were voluntarily done by the *King* himſelfe, & of his own free motion, *becauſe He thought that his haſty Expreſſions in the Hearing of the Aſſaſins incited them to that* ſacrilegious *Action.* Nay wee not only finde that this devotion was voluntary by our moſt Ancient, & moſt Authentique Hiſtorians, as *Hoveden*, borne near that time, & *Mat: Paris* ever ſevere againſt the exactions of *Rome*, but we have alſo all the *Articles at the King's Purgation* recorded by [a] *Daniel* [b] *Holinshed*, & other Proteſtant Writers, with our the leaſt hint in the ſaid Articles, that any ſuch thing was either requir'd or enjoyn'd by the Pope: but that's no mater ſo it calumniat's the Catholique Religion.

[a] *Dan. anno* 1172. *H. 2. p.* 83.

[b] *Hol. H. 2. p.* 83.

IX. SECT.

IX. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We will no longer trouble you with putting you in mind of any more of our mighty Kings, who have been feared abroad, and as safe at home as any since the Reformation of Religion; We shall only add, that if Popery be the slaving of Princes, *France* still believe it self as absolute as *Denmarck* or *Sweden*.

9. Answer.

He says, the King of France will believe what he pleases. For his Majesty well knows the Pope *gave away* France *formerly, fomented War against* Hen. 4. *and would do the same against him, were it not for his Power and Religion.*

9. *Reply.*

[a] *vid. p.* 148. I shewed you before in the [a] *sixth Reply*, that though the Reformed actually took away from their lawfull Governours so many Dominions; yet the *Pope* never gave away but *England* and *France*; which nevertheless are still under their proper Soveraigns. Consider then, whether (since the light of the Gospel appeared) the *Protestant* or *Popish* manner of dealing has been most destructive to Princes: and judge

judge if this be an Answer to my demand; which was, *whether France acknowledging the Pope, be not as absolute as Sweden or Denmark* that are *Protestants*? If so, it follows, that *Popery* does not enslave *Kings*. We are beholden to my *Adversary* for granting the *French King* is of the same Religion with the *Pope*, for I have heard some in *England* say, he was a *Protestant*. Thanks be to God, there is no danger of a breach between *Rome* and *France in matters of Faith*; for (as the very *Gazets* told us *Anno* 1664.) when the *French* Army was in *Italy*, *The King* (having owned the condemnation of *Jansenius*) *even then sent to the Pope to prosecute the Jansenists in France*. *Henry* the *Eighth* will be a warning to his Neigbours for revolting hereafter from the *Church*; for instead of Ecclesiastical dependance on the See of *Rome*, he has embroiled *both Church & State*; millions of Sects daily dividing and subdividing either in reality or on design, each of which pretend they are in the right, and each quote Scripture for their Opinions.

And by the way, *Reader*, be pleased to remember, that had not this Prince destroyed Religious Houses, most of the truly devout Sectaries at present would have voluntarily been cloister'd there, who

now

now (from the very Kings restauration to this present year 1668.) continually distract the Kingdom with noise of plots: for having no quiet place to vent that zeal which boyls within, they become a prey to a few wicked men, that blow up their well meaning Piety into disorders and sedition. Nay, many of the discontented Factious themselves, who now lie open to the sway and hurry of their own passions, would have been glad of such a retreat, honorable to all, even from the greatest Prince to the meanest Peasant. No wonder then, that so many *Protestants* (for Confusions may be long foreseen) were alwayes declaiming against this *Sacrilege*; nay [a] *Speed*, so mighty a Protestant, (& one who pretends to vindicate in some manner the said *King*) could not at the end of his *Catalogue of Religious Houses* forbear to say: *We have laid to your view a great part of King* Henry's *ill, the waste of so much of Gods revenue, however abused. Yet* [b] *Cambden* is far more tart, for he [b] *Cry's out; That many Religious places, Monuments of our Fore-fathers Piety and Devotion, to the honour of God, and Propagation of Christian Faith, &c. were in a moment* [c] *prophaned, and the Riches dispersed, which had been consecrated to God since the English Nation*

Protestants deryH: 8. Sacrilege.

a *Speed. H: 8. p. 828.*

b *Cam. Brit. p. 163. A.*

c *Cam. Brit. 163. D.*

Nation first profest Christianity. But the learned *Mr. Dugdal* is superlatively sharp, not only in making *Sic volo* to be *Hen.* 8. his [a] Motto, & telling us of the Ring, [b] *quem rapaci pollice gestavit &c,* but the whole *Monasticon* is a Record & perpetual *Memento* of his strange & almost incredible Transactions. Seing then Reader that this King is thought so blame worthy & deem'd *Sacrilegious* by these, & many score of other eminent *Protestants*, what must we thinke of his Daughter *Queen Elizabeth*, who living not in the *twilight*, but in the *Meridian Altitud of the Gospel* (as some call it) could imitate her *Father* in these enormities, even by rooting up those few places which her Sister *Mary* had replanted, & dedicated to Almighty God. Her depredations were, 'tis true, of much lesse value than the former, but yet committed with equal impiety; & because Desolation & Ruin may as fully be describ'd by the *Muses*, as by *Antiquarys*, let us hear what one of the Best Protestant Poets, & that in his Best Poem, say's of the destruction of Religious Houses.

[a] *Monasticon* title pag.

[b] *Mon.* p. 201.

Viewing a neighbouring Hill whose top of late
A Chappel crown'd, 't'ill in the common Fate
Th'adjoyning Abbey fell, may no such storme
Fall on our times, where ruine must reforme.

Then did Religion in a lazy Cell
In empty airy Contemplations dwell,
And like the Block unmoved lay, but ours
As much too active, like the Storke devours
Is there no temperate Region to be known;
Betwixt their frigid & our torrid Zone?
Could we not wake frō that Lethargick Dream,
But to be reſtleſſe in a worſe extreme?
And for that Lethargy was there no Cure
But to be caſt into a Calenture?
Can Knowlege have no bound, but muſt advance
So far, to make us wish for Ignorance;
And rather in the darke to grope our way
Than led by a falſe Guide to erre by Day?
Who ſee's theſe diſmal Heapes but would demand,
What barbarous Invader ſack't the Land?
But when he hear's no Goth, no Turk did bring
This Deſolation, but a Chriſtian King;
When nothing but the name of Zeal appears,
'Twixt our beſt Actions & the worſt of theirs,
What dos he thinke our Sacrilege would ſpare,
When ſuch th'effects of our Devotion are?

Thus wrot *Sr. John Denham* in his Coper's Hill, & herein we have a short view alſo of the very Bleſſings & Advantages of the whole Reformation.

X. SECT.

Nor will ever the *House* of *Austria* abjure the Pope, to secure themselves of the Fidelity of their Subjects.

10. Answer.

To this he says, *That the* Austrian *Family being linckt to the Pope,* (*by possessing* Naples, Sicily, *&* Navarre *by his gift*) *& their Subjects also being Papists, it were a mad way to secure themselves by changing Religion. But what is that,* say's he, *to England, where since the extrusion of that trash, which we call the Catholic Faith, the King & People are no more Papists; & having bin often troubled by us, have reason by experience to fear our Designs?*

10. *Reply.*

As for the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily*, & *Navarre*, the *House* of *Austria* is beholden to their Ancestors, for otherwise they had never bin Masters of them. And if the King of *Spain* gives the Pope yearly for *Naples* a Hackney & about [a] 10000. pounds English, 'Tis what the old German

[a] 48. thousand Ducats.

Line had formerly done, as *Mr.* [b] *Sands* has it in his *Travels*. But suppose the said Places belongd to this Monarch only by the *Pope's gift*, could not his Majesty (being in actual Possession) defend them as well as he can either *Milan*, *Flandres*, or *Burgundy*, which the *Pope* had never any thing to do with; or as well as other reformed Princes have done their Countries? But how weake is the Objection *that the Subjects of these Countries are Papists*; since all Subjects were so before *Luther's* time, & yet Princes found meanes to make them wholly revolt from *Rome*, & to continue them in their defection? My Adversary therfor grant's me here, all that I desired from the beginning; *For if our former Kings were considerable abroad, & as safe at home, as since the change of Religion; & if the King of France be as absolute as Denmark or Sweden; as also that the House of Austria can not better secure the fidelity of their Subjects becoming Protestants, then by continuing Papists*, it must necessarily follow, That Kings & Kingdomes by being *Papists* are not less absolute then if *Reformed*: and by the same Consequence, Subjects not one whit faithfuller to their Soveraigns by being *Protestants*, than if they were *Papists*. Tell me

[b] *Sands Travels p. 21.*

me then, where is the Temporal advantage of Reformation, and whether our Answerer has not raild long in vain; since he now by this grants me, that Kings may be absolute, and Subjects faithfull under Popery: and yet lately he affirmed, *That Popery is inconsistent with Government, by reason of Princes dependence on the Pope in Ecclesiastical matters; and that all Papists are prone to Rebellion, by the Determination of our Councels, Bulls and Divines.*

But my Adversary says, *What is all this to England, where Prince and people are Protestants?* I answer, 'tis thus much to *England*, That now it is plain, Popery is not inconsistent with Government, & that Kings are so far (at the long Run) from getting by the *Reformation*, that nothing follow's but Disorders; there never having bin in *England* such a *Rebellion*, & such horrid *Actions, as since the* preaching of this new *Gospel*; so that not only *the Church* (as *Sr. Rich: Baker* we[a] see confesses,) but the very Monarchy it selfe, *has stood in Distraction ever since.*

[a] *Vid. Rep. p.* 144.

How dangerous we have been to our first *Protestant Princes*, shall be discust in the[b] *Reflexion on the popish misdemeanours in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth & K. James*;

[b] *Vid. Rep. p.* 22. & 28.

but how faithfull & serviceable we were to *K. Charles the first*, *& second*, they themselves & all *Europ* also have sufficiently declar'd in our behalves.

XI. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We shall alwayes acknowlege to the whole World, that there have bin as many brave English in this last Century, as in any other places whatsoever. Yet since the exclusion of the Catholic Faith, there has bin that committed by those, who would be fain called Protestants, that the wickedest Papist an no time dreamt of.

11. Answer.

Here he asks, *What may that be, for four or five of our Kings of our own Religion, have bin murthered by Papists: That lately* Hen: *the* 4. *of* France, *was kill'd by* Ravillac; *&* Hen: *the* 3. *by* Frier Clement: *And besides this, we have killed by whole Townships in* England, Ireland, France, *&* Piedmont.

11. *Reply.*

What a volume might there here be made, if I were to write all I could upon each

each particular? But these are the Artifices of many now a dayes, that when they are at a stand, fly to another thing, in hopes to puzzle their ordinary Readers, who cannot imagine, hearing so great a Buzze, but that there must be at least something of reality in it.

My Assertion in the Apology was [a] *That in the times of Popery no such Actions were ever committed, as since the Reformation*; to which my *Adversary* having nothing to answer, run's to the private making away of some of our former Kings, though it hold's no manner of proportion with what we justly exclaime at. For the murtherers of *Edward* the 2. *Richard* the 2. *Hen:* the 6. & *Edw:* the 5. were so conscious of the wickednesse of the Fact, that every thing was done in the dark, nor would they ever owne that those *Princes* came to violent Deaths; *For it was given out* (as *Daniel* has it) [a] *that the said K. Edward dyed of extreme Grief.* [b] Holinshed & [c] Speed shows us that some hold *that King Richard Starv'd himselfe.* [d] Buck affirm's, *That it is the opinion of very grave men, That Hen: the 6. dyed of a natural sickness, & extreme infirmity of Body*; Nor will he allow that *Edw. the* 5. was murthered, [e] *but that he being of a weake*

[a] *Dan. Ed: 3. p. 185.*
[b] *Hol. H. 4. p. 516*
[c] *Sp: H. 4 p. 626.*
[d] *Buck. Rich. 3. p. 81.*
[e] *Ib. 85*

weake Disposition died of Sickneſſe alſo. Thus then it appeares even by *Proteſtant Authors* (ſuppoſing theſe Kings were murderd) that the Paricides gloried not in their wickedneſſe; whenas the Death of the *Queen of Scots* was bare fac'd & in the ſight of the whole World; Nay, which is more, twas done under the Cloak of Law, though no Law could authoriſe the Death of a Monarch. *My Lord of Leiceſter*, who deſird this Princeſſes deſtruction as much as any one of the Cabal, was ſo ſenſible of the ill conſequences, that might happen by ſo ouvert an Action to the Monarchy it ſelfe, as alſo of an eternal dishonour to the nation, that he ſent *a Divine to Secretary Walſingham*, ([a] as *Cambden* has it) *to convince him, That it was lawfull to poyſon her*; but the *Miniſter* could no more ſatisfy that Conſcientious Stat's-man, than *Hugh Peters*, & others of our late *Saints*, could the godly *Major General Harriſon* about the clandeſtine murther of her Grand-child *Charles the firſt*; nor is any body ignorant, that the whole intrigue & way of acting againſt this *Queen*, emboldned the barbarous *Butchers* of our age ſo formally to commit their execrable villainy, & was their Precedent alſo al along.

[a] *Camb. Eliz. an. 1585. p. 413.*

This

This procedure against *Mary Stuart*; contrary to the Law of Nations (she being both a Guest & a crown'd Queen) drew an universal *odium* upon the Kingdom; *For the Reproach was entail'd on the whole Nation by the apparition of a mimical & counterfiet Justice*, as *Osborne* call's it in his [a] Historical *Memoires*; Nor did any English man either *Papist* or *Protestant*, ever misse to be upbraided with it abroad, till the greatnesse of the Abomination against our late *King*, made them leave off a little speaking of the first, to remmember us more piquantly of the last. [a] *Hist. mem. Q: El. p. 21.*

Is it, I would fain know, to excuse these two unheard of Actions, that he thus twit's us with the private Murther of some of our Catholique Princes; or is it that I should again retort, *That since* Henry the eighth's *Reigne, we have had but* 3. *Protestant Kings*, *to wit* Ed: the 6. K. James & Charles the first, *& that all of them are reputed by* Protestant Writers *to have come to violent & extraordinary Deaths*. But Reader before I go on, I must acquaint you, that having mention'd this fate of our Reformed Monarchs, *in my Answer to the Seasonable Discourse*, you must therfor now according to my designed method, heare the summe of what he has against it

in

in his *Reasonable Defence.*

He urges first; *That were the poisoning of* K. Edw: *&* K. James *true, it could not be to my purpose; for it follow's not therfor, That* Popes *are not dangerous to Princes, or that they have not kill'd several, besides the attempting on many more, who hardly escap'd their hands. Then he denyes the thing, & say's, 'Tis utterly false, citing* Godwin, Baker, *&* the Continuation of Martyn, *for what concern's* K. Edward. *Then for* King James, *he tells us, that He lived to a fair Age, for all the Gun powder Treason & our Designes in Scotland; & that no sober men will wonder, if an Ague at that critical Season, without the help of a Plaister could kill him; neither can wee be ignorant what use, the story of the black Plaister was in the last war.*

[a] *Heyl: of the Church. Ed: 6. p. 136. & 139.*

[b] *Buck Rich. 3. p. 123.*

[c] *God: Ed: 6. p. 235.*

[d] *Con: of Martin p. 363.*

[e] *Bak. Ed. 6. p. 329.*

First for *Edw: the Sixth*, 'tis true *Godwin* & *Martyn* thinke him not poyson'd; yet [a] *Heylyn* & [b] *Buck* (who are also *Protestant Writers* of as much note) believe he was: Nay the said [b] *Godwin* & [c] *Martyn* acknowlege, *That he dyed not without suspicion of Poyson.* But as for *Baker*, He is far enough from denying it; for he tells us, [e] *That after the Lord* Robert Dudley's *comming to a place so near him (to wit the Bedchamber) the King enjoy'd his health but a while.* Then when he mention's his

his death, he sayes, [a] *That the Rumor was spread by some, that this slow & deadly consumption came by a Nosegay; by others, that 'twas done by a Clyster*: nor do's he offer to contradict or disprove the said Report; so that we see what *Protestants* write of this Kings End, as also how candid my Adversary is in his citations. [a] *Ib. p.* 333.

In the next place concerning *K. James*, if the late Rebels made ill use of the story of the Plaister administred to him, I cannot help it; This dos not yet hinder what I say to be true; viz: *That* Edw. 6. K James, & K. Charles *are reputed by Protestant Writers to have come to extraordinary Deaths*. Were I the Raiser of any of those Reports, my Adversary might have had some colour to be angry; but all that I urge, is out of the Workes of those of his own Religion; & as I have already show'd the opinion of several in Relation to *K. Edward*, so you may see in [b] *Sanderson* as much said of *K. James* by *the History of great Britain*, & other *Protestant Writers*, as also by some *Phisitians* there mention'd. I cite here *Sanderson*, & not the Persons themselves, because that Author endeavours to answer their Charge; nor is it my buisinesse either to enervate his Arguments, or corroborat theirs, only [b] *Sand: K. James p.* 592.

this

this I can justly say, *That these 3. Kings are reputed by Protestant Writers, to have come to violent & extraordinary Deaths, & that the Books that assert this are sold publickly every where.* And doubtlesse had not my Adversary a minde that his Readers, (notwithstanding his seeming Earnestnesse to the cõtrary) should believe the whole story; for there is no better way of enforcing an Argument than to Answer it weakly; I say had not my Adversary a minde we should believe it, he vould never have told us; *No sober man will wonder if an Ague without the helpe of a Plaister should kill that Prince at so Critical a Season*; whenas this season was in the Spring, a time when Agues are lesse hurtfull; nay that Disease is then thought by English men conducible to health; for what Proverb is more vulgar among us then

An Ague in the Spring
Is a medcine for a King.

Now as to my Adversarys consequence, viz: *That though this were true, it follow's not that Princes therfore are in no danger of the Pope*; I answer, 'Tis very right, nor did I ever urge any thing like it; for I only affirm'd, That it was ridiculous in him to cry, *That the Persons of our Kings are safer at present, than under Popery*, seing that since

since their leaving *Popery*, they have all (by the testimony of their own Writers) com to ill Ends. This was my Consequence, & as for *Popery's being a check, to the glory of Kings, or disadvantagious to them*, 'tis sufficiently handled & disprov'd in the beginning of the [a] *Preface.* [a] Rep. p. 8.

But can any thing be more barbarous, & farther from all Candor, than to mention *Clement's* & *Ravilliac's* murthering of *Hen: the 3. & 4. of France*, as a blemish to our Religion, whenas they not only suffer'd as Malefactors, but are branded by all Catholics, for Traitors & Miscreants? Nay, what can exceed the abomination of thus upbraiding us, seing *Cardinal Peron* himselfe (deem'd by my Adversary as a mighty Stickler for the Pope) dos in that very Speech, which was cited against me with much Noise some few pages ago, whilst 'twas thought a discredit to us; I say what can exceed this foule Dealing in thus upbraiding us, when this *Cardinal* dos in this very *Speech*, not only call those Paracides, *infernal Monsters* in particular; but shows us in general, *That the Murther of all lawfull Kings is damnable by the positive Definition of the* Councel of Constance, & *that though Princes should be never*

never such Apostates & Persecutors, & their Subjects absolv'd even from their Allegiance, yet they cannot kill them, or use Clandestine conjurations against them. In short, after much more to this effect, he concludes, *That notwithstanding the several Controversies between Princes & Popes, no Pope ever gave Assent or Councel to any Assasin;* so that it is evident, that such Actions, are directly opposite to our very Faith & Religion, & therfor I must again desire my Reader to judge how we are us'd by those that write against us, & whether Christianity is not as answerable for *Judas* his Treason, as we for what was done by these *Villains.*

As for the *Slaughter* of the Protestants in *Ireland* here again charg'd upon us, I [a] have already answer'd it, in the first Reply; nor shall I be long in my *Adversary's* Debt about the *French* [b] *Massacre*, which I will presently handle very particularly. But I wonder the *Piedmont* businesse should be mentiond by a Pretender to the *Church* of *England*, seing that no man is ignorant, when *Cromwel* made a Collection for them in shew, but for himselfe in Reality; *That the Cavaliers ever stil'd them Rebels, & declar'd in all places, That the Duke was necessitated* for

[a] *Vid. p.* 51.

[b] *Vid. Rep.* 18.

his

his quiet, to subdue them by Armes; yet not withstanding their pretended ill usage, I wish we had the Liberty they enjoy; for even at this day they not only possesse freely their Estates, but have also Ministers & Churches publikly allow'd them.

One charge more still remain's in this Section, to wit, *Qu: Mary's Cruelty*, imply'd in the Rhetorical Paragraphe, *of our killing whole Families & Townships in England*; which also in other places is otherwise expres't by him; for as I told you, 'tis his custome, to hint again & again at all odious Calumnies; But to show you now how much this frequent & mighty noise differs from Truth, I will fall upon the Examination of the whole matter. *Of Q: Mary's Cruelty.*

In the first place, *Reformed Historians* agree, That this Princesse was a marvelous good woman; for Bishop [a] *Godwin* sayes; *She was a Lady very godly, merciefull, chaste, & every way praise worthy, if you regard not the errors of her Religion.* And [b] this *Baker* confirmes in these words, *We shall not do her Right, if we deny her to be of a mercyfull Disposition*; telling us moreover, *That the goodnesse of her nature, might be seen in the badnesse of her Fortune, nothing*

[a] *God. Q: M. p.* 340.

[b] *Bak. Q: M. p.* 347.

nothing going neerer her heart than the losse of Calis, & the absence of her Husband King Philip, the chief causes of her Death. a Speed also, who is never scrupulous in writing anything that may disparage Popery, has it; *That surely she was so well inclin'd of her selfe, that had not the Zeal of her Religion, & the Church-men overswayd her own Disposition, the flames of their consuming Fire had not mounted so high*; by all which it appeares, 'twas not she, but others who were cruel. Again; every body know's no man can be put to death in England without Law, & therfor the Cruelty is to be attributed to the Lawes; which laws notwithstanding were not only made before Qu: *Mary's* Dayes, but have also bin used both by our Reformed Bishops, & Reformed Princes, to burne those whom they terme *Heretiques*. Nay b Dr. *Chamberlayn* in his *present State of England* puts it among the principal poynts of the *Episcopal* Jurisdiction, *That they can by common Law require upon the Kings writ the Burning of an obstinate Heretique*; nor have they faild to exercise this their Autority, as their own Historians have sufficiently shown us.

a Sp. Q: M. p. 552.

b Second part p. 39.

Now for the number of the Protestants that died, there were but 277. in all, as *Baker*

[a] *Baker* & several other Reformed Writers declare; but [b] *Speed* is not contented to acquaint us with the quantity, but gives us the quality of them also, *To wit* 5. *Bishops*, 21. *Divines*, 8. *Gentlemen*, 84. *Artificers*, 100. *Husbandmen*, *Servants* & *Labourers*, 26. *Wives*, 20. *Widows*, 9. *Virgins*, 2. *Boyes*, & 2. *Infants*. This is then the exact muster Rolle, even according to *Fox* his story; & I doubt not but many *Protestants* will be amaz'd to finde there were but 277. in all, whenas by the continual noise of the Pulpit, & the strange Relations there, they thought the number to have bin at least a Million. I shall not at present discant on the Causes of their respective Deaths, because it is so fully done by Fa: *Parsons*; only this I must say; *That those of most note were Traytors in the highest Degree*; & *for the rest, above* 200. *of them* (*had they lived in our dayes*) *would have been thrown into Prison*; & *there rotted for Non-cõformistes*; but to the end you may see, That this is not meerly Popish Doctrine, I shall show you what a Character Protestants themselves give them. The Author of [c] *Papa patens*, or *the Pope in his Colours*, after much railing at Papists (as the very Title may assure one) sayes; "There are some that would seem Protes-

[a] *Bak: Q. M. p.* 346.

[b] *Speed Q. M. p.* 852.

[c] *Pap: pat: p.* 5.

„ tants, & yet deny the Cruelty was such
„ as the English Martyrology makes the
„ *Marian* Persecution to be; & others
„ of no small Esteem in the *Church* of
„ *England*, instead of acknowlegeing *Fox*
„ his History a *Monument of Martyrs*, call
„ it a *Book fraught with Traytors & Here-*
„ *tiques*. Doctor *Bastwick* makes also the
[a] *Prelates Tyranny* 2. *part. p.* 44. same complaint; *There is* ([a] sayes he) *another Book of Heylyn licensed, in which he rails against all the Martyrs that suffered in Queen Mary's dayes, calling them Scismatical Heretics.* And this Injustice *Mr. Pryn* too bewail's in the very Pilory; for there he assures his gazing Auditory,
[b] *Ib.* „ [b] That *Doctor Pocklington* in the 92. page
„ of his *Altare Christianum*, licensed by
„ the *Arch-Bishop's* Chaplain, stiles all
„ the *Martyrs*, that suffered in *Qu:*
„ *Mary's* dayes, *Scismatical Heretics, Fac-*
„ *tious fellows, Traitors & Rebels, condemn'd*
„ *by holy Church*, *&c.* So that here wee see, not only what Esteem *Church of England* men had really for these *Martyrs*, but also the true cause of their Deaths; & truly so unsufferable were they, that that mercifull *Queen* was forced to run counter to her own *Disposition*. For had the Sole Quarrel bin about their Religion, *Bishop Bonner* & his Associats might have soon found

found other ſort of Perſons than ſome 250. *Artizans*, & ſuch meane people to have vented their fury upon; for moſt of the *Nobility*, & above halfe the Land were profeſt *Proteſtants* in *K. Edward's* Reigne, who cannot be imagin'd to have bin all converted by this *Queen's* Admiſſion. I ſay the Sole quarrel was not about their *Religion*, but (beſides the *Treaſon* of the Chief among them) *for their railing at her Majeſty, their Inſolence to Magiſtrats, their Diſturbing Congregations, & other ſtrange miſdemeanours.* I will not now trouble you with all the Particulars *of Doctor Rowland Taylor, one of* a *Fox his prime & rubricated Martyrs*, who by force & violence in the beginning of *Qu: Mary's* Reigne *hinderd a Prieſt to ſay Maſſe in the Church of Hadley*; or with the many ſtories to this purpoſe, which the ſaid *Martyrologiſt* reckons as galantries; but let us hear what the Eminent *Dr: Heylyn* confeſſes, though as ſevere againſt this Queen & her Party, as any Writer extant.

a *Fox: Feb:* 25

b He tell's us. „ That in the ſecond yeare „ of her Majeſty's Reigne, one *Roſe* Miniſ- „ ter of a private *Congregation* in *Bow Church* „ yard did uſe to pray, *That God would* „ *either turne her Heart from Idolatry, or* „ *elſe ſhorten her dayes*; on which occaſion, &

b *Heyl: Hiſt. in: Eng. Q. Mary p.* 47.

„ ſome other of the like ill nature, an Act
„ was made againſt traytorous words, &
„ that the ſaid Prayers, & all others of
„ the like miſchievous quality, should be
„ interpreted Treaſon. *The like exorbitancy,*
„ *I finde* (continues *Heylyn*) *too frequent in*
„ *this Queen's Reigne*, to which ſome men
„ were ſo tranſported with a furious zeale,
„ That a Gun was shot at Doctor *Pende-*
„ *leton*, as he preacht at *St. Pauls Croſſe*, &
„ that before this, ſome of them had caus'd
„ a Cat to be han'gd upon a Gallows, near
„ *Cheapſide Croſſe*, her head shorne, the
„ likeneſſe of Veſtments on her, & her two
„ feet tied together, holding a piece of
„ Paper in forme of a *Wafer*; which tending
„ ſo apparently to the diſgrace of the Reli-
„ gion then eſtablis'd by Law, was shown
„ the ſame day by the ſaid Doctor *Pendleton*,
„ which poſſibly might be the reaſon of the
„ miſchief intended him Our *Proteſtant*
Hiſtorian having given this account, pro-
[a] *Ib.* ceeds yet farther: „ [a] *The Governors of the*
„ *Church* (*ſayes he*) *exaſperated by theſe*
„ *provocations*, & the Queen charging
„ *Wyat's* Rebellion on the Proteſtant
„ Party, she agreed on the reviving ſome
„ antient Statutes made by *Richard* the 2.
„ *Hen* 4. & *Hen.* 5. for the ſevere pu-
„ niſhment of obſtinat Heretiques even to
death;

„ death; but he [a] tell's us, That *Cardinal Pole* [a] *Ib.*
„ was clearly of the opinion *that these Sta-*
„ *tutes were to be only for terrour, & that*
„ *no persecution should be raisd*; affirming
„ that the Councel which *Charles* the *Em-*
„ *perour* sent the *Queen* at her first com-
„ ming to the Crown, was, *To create no*
„ *trouble to any body for matter of Conscience.*
„ Yet *Bishop Gardiner* (he sayes) was for
„ having some blood drawn in case of Re-
„ fractorinesse, & incorrigible Non-con-
„ formitie; but *Bonner* would have no
„ body escape, that came into his Clutches,
„ alleging, *that the Heretiques themselves*
„ *had broken the Ice in putting to death Ser-*
„ *vetus one of their own number.* By all
which, Reader, it appears; That not only
the *Queen*, the *Government*, & the *Spaniards*
design'd Lenity, but that *Protestants* were
de facto indulg'd & had *Liberty of Con-*
science during the first 2. yeares; for *Rose*
(wee see) was *Minister of a Congregation* in
Bow Church yard, even under *Bonner's* own
Nose, & the Counsel given by the *Em-*
perour was followd, till *these provocatiõs exas-*
perated the Government, as *Heylin* acknow-
leges. But this *Author* [b] sayes, *The Orthodox,* [b] *Ib.*
& sober Protestants (as he calls here the Mar-
tyrs) were brought to a reckoning & *forced to*
pay for the follys of those men, which was not in

their power to hinder; and yet the said *Doctor* had written a Book (as I just now showd you) licenced by Autority, where he stiles them *Scismatical Heretiques*; so that it seems the *Orthodox & sober Protestants* of that age, & *Scismatical Heretiques* are with him Synonomous words, & of the same signification. Nay there was nothing so extravagant, (if it oppos'd Popery) but was fainted by *Fox*, even as much as *Colins & his Dog*, of whose *Martyrdom* he thus writes: [a] *Colins* (sayes he) *being besides his wits, seing a Priest hold up the Host over his Head, & shew it to the People, he in like manner conterfeiting the Priest, took up a little Dog by the legs, & held him over his head, shewing him to the People, & for this by & by he was brought to examination, & was burn'd with the Dog with him.* And here *Reader* be pleas'd to observe, That though *Colins* is owned by *Fox* in his later Editions as mad (for several of his false narrations were made known, & laught at by *Doctor Harps-field* & others) yet he still placed him as *a Martyr* on the 10. of *October*, as may be seen to this day in his *Calendar*.

[a] *Fox anno* 1538.

But suppose now that these People had all died for their Conscience according to the common cry: Let me aske my

my *Adverſary*, whether a man may be juſtly executed for Tenets in Religion or no? If it be lawfull, why may not Papiſts do it (when they thinke fit) as well as Proteſtants? If no body ought thus to ſuffer; why did *Edward* the 6. & eſpecially *Qu: Elizabeth* execute ſo many *Anabaptiſts*, Arians, &c. as may be ſeen in *Stow*, forcing alſo many more to ſave their lives by recanting? Or why did K. James put to death *Legat* & *Wightman* for *obſtinat* & *damnable Hereticks*, as [a] *Baker* & [b] *Sanderſon* call them; yet how *damnable* & *obſtinat* ſoever they were, I can show you that *Cowbrige* and ſeveral others of *Fox his Martyrs* died for opinons of the ſame Nature, or, if poſſible, worſe.

[a] *Bak. K. Ia. mes p.* 446.

[b] *Sand. K. I. p.* 374.

Nor did this *Proteſtant Gentleneſſe* & *Mercy* show it ſelfe only here, but beſides theſe that died for a Religion of their own making, I ſaw a *Rolle* at *Doway* of 115. *Prieſts*, that (to the yeare 1632. only) were executed out of that one Houſe; and ſince that time many more have ſuffer'd; to which may be added ſeveral out of the *Roman* & *Spaniſh Seminaries*, together with many *Benedictines*, *Jeſuits*, *Franciſcans*, & other *Religious Perſons*. And to aſſure the World, that all was

Fiſh

Flsh that came to the Net, this Cruelty extended to *Laymen*, *for owning only the Pope's Spiritual Supremacy*; *for assisting poor Priests*; *for letting them say Masse in their House*; *for being converted*, & the like, as I alreadу prov'd it by *Protestant* Authority in the 4th. *Reply*. Nay [a] *Eudæmon Joannes* has both a Catalogue (with their Names, Sirnames, Time, Place &c.) of about 130. *Priests*, as also of 50. *Secular Persons*, all executed for their Religion in the latter part only of *Qu. Elizabeths* Reigne, & yet he has forgotton some I am sure. Many more therfor are the Catholiques (we see) that thus publickly suffer'd death under the profest *Protestant Government*, than ever there did Protestants under the *Catholique*; (for I speake not of what happend by cruel *Imprisonments*, *Banishments*, *Confiscations*, *&c.*) & if together with those of our Religion, we should reckon all sorts of People (*even Enemies to Popery*) that died for their Conscience under H 8. *Ed.* 6 *Q. Eliz.* &c. (mētion'd by *Fox*, *Stow*, *Holinshed* & other *Protestant Historians*) there will be found double the quantity of Blood to have been here spil't upon a religious account by these our *Princes*, that have disown'd the *Pope*, then by *Papists*, from *Saint Augustins* con-

[a] *Eud. Ioh. Ap. Gar: p.* 864.

ver-

werſion of the Iſland, to this very day. Let the World then judge whether our Cruelty be ſo unparallel'd, & whether *Bloud* ought ſo often to be thrown into our Dish, when as four or five of our *Reform'd Monarchs* have done more in this kinde, than ſo many ſcore of *Popish* ones. And this I doubt not but that Engliſhman well knew, who (being entreated by his *Dutch Correſpondent* to acquaint him, what he thought of the Tolerating *Nonconformiſts*) could not chooſe but acknowlege this great Truth; In short „Sr. ([a] ſayes He,) Our eyes are now „opend, & we finde that all Opinions „in Power have ſtill uſed ſeverities „againſt their Adverſaries, & therfor none „ought to blame his Fellow, *ſeing We „have all erred, & ſtrayed, & followed „too much the Devices & Deſires of our own „hearts*; for thus did *Henry* the *Eighth*, „thus did *Edward* the *Sixth*, thus did *Qu: „Mary*, thus did *Qu: Elizabeth*, thus „did *K. James*, thus did *K. Charles* the „*firſt*, but thus will not *K. Charles* the „*ſecond* do any more, who knows by ex„perience as well as inclination what a „Virtue Mercy is; & really it vexes me „to ſee even Papiſts themſelves call us „into the Liſt, & offer to show, *That* We

[a] *Dutch letters p.* 20.

„ *we have executed more of theirs for Religion,*
„ *than they of ours*; adding as an Alleviation on their side, *that 'tis leſſe cruelty to*
„ *deſtroy Eggs in their hatching, than a Cock*
„ *vey that is pen-fetherd, & at full growth.*
And truly Reader 'tis a great *Alleviation*; Chriſtianity ſparing the Ancient Heathens themſelves, becauſe they found them in poſſeſſion; nay though Papiſts had deſign'd the Perſecution in Q: *Mary's* dayes, there is a vaſt difference between the Proteſtant Caſe & theirs, who enjoying long Peace & Tranquillity in the Church, ſtrove by old Laws to ſuppreſſe a new Religion, which had depos'd their Soveraigne, which made ſtrange diſorders (they ſaw) in all places where it came, & which was alſo taught by jarring Profeſſiors & at Daggers drawing among themſelves. I ſay had they in Q: *Mary's* dayes deſign'd that Perſecution, there is yet a vaſt difference in the caſe; but on the contrary, they no wayes intended it, as I have fully proved; for they were forc'd againſt their own inclinations to what was done, by reaſon of the inſufferable Carriage of theſe Perſons, who are, ſo infinitely deſpis'd by our *Proteſtants*, & would have ſuffer'd (as many of the ſame

Re-

Religion have since done) under their Government, had it bin then in Power. I will by no meanes excuse the passion of any Catholique, for there are hot & peevish spirits in all Countries, & in all Religions; but I am so far from knowing any true particulars herein, that I am sure things have been exaggerated by our Enemies, & false Tales continually raisd. For who can imagin that *Bishop Bonner*, a grave man, an Ancient Prelat, & Bishop even of London, should with his own hand (as [a] *Speed* has it out of *Fox*) *whip one of these Martyrs to death*; nay this *Martyr*, it seems, was one of the [b] *Infants* already mention'd by him, which was not only incapable of *Heresie*, but might have bin brought up in what Religion the Bp: pleas'd. Infinite are the wilde Stories that might be related of this kinde, invented only to make the World believe us bloudy, a thing which by *Nature* as Englishmen, & by *Grace* as Catholiques we abhorre; & this *Speed* himself in spight of malice intimates, when after chiding *Father Parsons* for *depraving* (as he calls it) *those* protestant *Sufferers*, he sayes, [c] *That the more charitable of our Profession do pitty the spilling of so much Christian bloud.*

[a] *Speed. Q: Mr p. 852.*

[b] *Ib.*

[c] *Ib.*

Thus

Of the present Propriator's Right to the Lands alienated from the Church.

Thus much then for the fam'd *Cruelty* of this Princesse, who is nevertheless own'd (as I show'd you) by our *Reformed Historians* very eminent in virtue, & by her natural disposition extremely *mercifull & tender*; & thus we have seen the *Number Quality*, & *Humour*, of the Sufferers in her Reigne, together with the Esteem *Protestants* themselves have of them, & consequently what favour they would have found, had the Church of England bin then in Power; as also we have had a view *of the Lenity of the Reformation*; which has not only exceeded *Qu: Mary* in blood, but all the *Catholique Monarcks* of this Isle. I say, so much for this *Princesse's* fam'd *Cruelty & Rigour*, & now let us treat a while of her *Favours* and *Indulgence*, and particularly of our title to the *Lands of the Church*, being a Right only obtained by her, and which she also granted to all her People in general. This is a Subject very fit to be here handled, and that at large, especially since so many of the *Church of England* pretend to doubt of its validity, in case *Popery* should have any Power or Autority in the Nation. And who sees not that this affaire is brought into question, because Interest is the best way of wilfully blin-

blinding men; yet certainly upon sober Reflection, it must alarme our *Protestants* at last, and make them examine more nearly their *Religion* and Cause, seing their Champions being hunted from Post to Pillar, are now forc't to fall upon such vaine Feares and Jealousies. But before I begin to make good the Lay Title to the Premisses, I shall first put down here the Argumẽts, which my Adversary in his *Seasonable Discourse* & *in its Reasonable Defence*, is pleas'd to urge with such vigour against it.

He [a] sayes, *he will not suppose me unconcerned in* Abbey Lands, *yet the Advantage I may get by a* Popish *change, will abundantly recompense my losse; the like consideration having prevaild with some Rebells about the Kings Restauration. Then he tell's us, That* Popes *have usurp'd on the Estates not only of private men and Princes (and particularly on the* King's of England) *but on the Acts of preceding* Popes: *For in the* Decretalls, *which is good Canon Law, his* Holinesse *peremptorily declares, he could dispense with the* [b] *Case there specified, though* Pope *and* Counsel *had establish't it. But now if* Popes *may be bound by an Act of their Predecessors, then he show's that* Pope Symmachus *ordain'd that no Church Lands should be alienated on any termes; so that on one hand*

[a] *Reason's Defence p. 19. 20. 27.*

[b] *Cap. Innotuit de Elect. & Elect. potest.*

hand or other, it must go ill with our Lay Abbots, *for so he calls the present Proprietors of these Lands. After this Argument he falls on the late* Revolutions, *saying That the Violence of the People in a change may be thereby seen; for many of the long* Parliament *and other* Rebells *that had forfeited their necks, hazarded themselves in the* King's Restauration, *The humour (he sayes) of the nation in the Choice of this very* Parliament, *was particularly against those that had been* Purchasers of Delinquents Estates, *and therfor it may happen if* Popery *come in, that the* Lay Abbots *may be excluded the House, and that there may be as many* qualifications in Elections, *as were among the* Rebells; *and that in a* Popish Revolution, *wayes may be found to induce leading men to surrender their* Estates, *and thereby recommend themselves (like the merit of old* Cavaliers) *to those in Power. He sayes also, That if* Popes *were bound (as I would have it) to aggreements, as well as other Governours, yet* Acts of Resumption *are not things unheard of; That this* King's fee farme Rents *would not sell, till doubling orders helpt them off, and that in truth, 'twas the stopping of the* Checquer *that made People of two dangers chose this as the least; That the methods of the* French King's *late* resu-

resuming his alienated Demesne *is no contemtible argument to our* Lay Abbots, *to feare the like from the* Pope, *though I waved these Instãces in my* Answer *to the* Seasonable Discourse, *as also the Points of Law that may arise in a favorable conjuncture even in the penning of Acts that suppresse Religious Houses.* He urges further, *That as* King's may *vacate Grants, if they have been decieved by them by false suggestions*; Popes *may pretend the like also; and that the* Seasonable Discourse *doubted whether before a Jesuited Jury,* the *Popes Grant of* Abbey Lands *having not its effect (which was the reclaiming an heretical Kingdom) may not be interpreted a non-excepting the condition, so that no more obligation may lie on the* See *of* Rome *to make good* Abby Lands *to the Proprietors, than now on our* King *to make good to the late Rebels the lease of* 99. *yeares of Church lands, that* Charles the first *offer'd them at the* Isle *of* Wight, *but not accepted by them.* To this he add's, *That the* Pope *was so far from confirming the Lands alienated by the* Treaty of Munster, *that he damn'd it to the pit of Hell by his Bull; and that the* Councel of Trent *confirm'd all Canons, Councels, and Pope's Bulls made in favour of the privileges and liberties of Ecclesiastiques, and therfor there's no scruple what*

will

will become of Acts of Parliament *that vacate them.* Then he concludes *very angrily, for laughing in my* Answer to the Seasonable Discourse *at his* French Instance *out of the* Traité Politique, *since* Campanella (*who is as great a Politician as my selfe*) *say's, That there are many millions of Religious, and that they are able to defend the* Pope *against all the World; but he desires any Honest man that loves his country, & has not out-travel'd his Religion & wit to go to his* Book, *and judge whether it be that unconcerning piece of Non sense which I have represented it.*

No danger of our loosing Abby Lands

This *Reader* is the summe of his Arguments even in their full strength and vigour; and therefor I will now plainly show you their weaknesse, and how little they are to be apprehended by any Rational man. For if the *Abbey Proprietors,* be disseis'd, it must either be by the Consent of the three *States,* or by the *Popes* own Power and Autority. As for such a *Parliamentary Act*, who can possibly imagine it, when 'tis now not only Injustice in it selfe (as I shall presently show you) but 'thwarts also the Interest of every particular Member; there being no body of any fashion or Estate in the Kingdome, that is not some way or other con-

concerned in these Lands. Moreover what *Parliament* can there possibly be concieved (even in the fancy of a mad man) that would thus ruine themselves and Friends, by ordering the Resumption of these lands, whenas Zealous *Queen Mary* and the then *bloody Catholiques* (as the *Ministers* call them to this day) were so far from doing it, that on the contrary they got the *Popes* confirmation to all the *Lawes* that tended to the Security of the *Occupants*; & yet these *Occupants* were all of them either profess'd *Protestants*, or else of *Henry* the eighth's *Scismatiques*: for no true Catholique would meddle with them till after the Popes confirmation.

Adde also, that the said *Occupants* or *Proprietors* (besides their Enmity to the *See of Rome*) were generally the very *Purchasers* themselves (for it was not long that the Ravage had been committed) which must needs lessen, not only the *Pity*, but heighten the *Anger* of her Majestie, and all good people against them; nothing being more chocquant, we know, than to see men thrive by their transgressions, as all our Cavaliers will confesse, who abe horring the Confiscations and sales of our times, us'd upenly to say, *That the Recievor was as bad as the Thiefe.* Nay

for all this great Provocation to Flesh and Blood, the very *Popish Bishops* and *Clergy* in open *Convocation*, (and *Bonner* himselfe was their *President*) were not only passively willing, *That the Ecclesiastical lands should be for ever alienated*, but actively also show'd their Zeale for the Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, by petitioning both *King* and *Queen* in these earnest and patheticall words, which are recorded by no meaner Writer than *Dr. Heylin* in his [a] *History of the Church of England.*

[a] *Qu: Mary p.* 43.

Wherefor preferring the public good and quiet of the Kingdom, before our own private Commodities, and the Salvation of so many Souls redeemed with the Precious Blood of Christ, *before any earthly things whatsoever, and not seeking our own, but the things of* Jesus-Christ, *we do most earnestly and most humbly beseech your* Majesties, *that you would graciously vouchsafe to intercede with the most Reverend Father in God the Lord* Cardinal Pole, *Legat* a Latere *from his* Holinesse *our most Serene Lord* Pope Julius *the* 3d, *as well to your most excellent Majesties as to the whole* Realme of England, *that he would be pleased to settle and confirme the said* Goods of the Church, *either in whole or in part, as he thinkes most fit, on the present* Occupants *thereof, according*

ding to the Powers and Faculties committed to him, by the ſaid moſt ſerene Lord the Pope; *thereby preferring the public good before the private, the Peace & Tranquillity of the Realme before Suites and Troubles, and the Salvation of Souls before Earthly Treaſures. And for our parts we both now and for all times comming give conſent to all and every thing, which by the ſaid Legate ſhall in this caſe be finally ordain'd and concluded on; humbly beſeeching your* Majeſties, *that you would graciously vouchſafe to perſuade the ſaid* Cardinal *in our behalfe, not to ſhow himſelfe in the Premiſſes too ſtrict and difficult* &c.

Theſe I ſay are the very words of part of this Heroique *Petition*, which I believe can ſcarce be found to have been imitated by thoſe that rail ſo much againſt Papiſts and their Clergy; nor did that learned, virtuous, and hyghborn *Cardinal* (whom even [a] *Bishop Godwin* ſo much commends) fail to grant their Requeſt; *for by the Popes Decree* (as it is in the Preface of the ſaid Dr. *Heylyn's* Hiſtory) *all ſuch lands were confirm'd on the preſent Occupants, of which they ſtood poſſeſt by the juſt title of the Kings Patents, or by any Law in being*; So that *Papiſts* themſelves (as appeares by daily practice) ſcruple not to become now purchaſers of theſe Lands having both

[a] *Annal. Ma-* *rii p.* 34.

Church and *State* for Warrantees. Moreover, though this Act, and Indulgence of *Pope Julius* the 3. (who deputed the *Cardinal*) were altogether sufficient, yet *Sleidan*, a Reformed Writer of mighty fame, affirmes (as Dr. *Heylyn*[a] confesses) *that Paul the* 4. *ratified it by his Bull*; & this Ratification of the said *Paul* is also acknowleg'd & avow'd by *Sr. Roger Twisden* in his[b] *Historicall vindication of the Church of England*, & by other Protestants of great account.

[a] *Chruch Eng: Q. Mary p.* 44.

[b] *Hist. Vind. p.* 176.

This in short is what has formerly pass'd; and now how do the *Revolutions of the present Age prove a pestilent Argument, or furnish matter of Fact* (as my Adversary sayes) *of the possibility of any ill Event by Popery*, since the case of these Rebells differs as much from ours, as dos buying stolen goods of a known Felon, and Wares bought in a public market according to the *Ecclesiastical and Municipal Laws of the place*. The Examples & Accidents of our times might have been (if they had earlier happen'd) fit Topiques for *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and the rest of that *Cabal*, to stir up with Doubts and Feares (upon the Death of *Edward the* 6.) the then Occupants against their Lawfull *Queen*; but what analogy and resemblance they have

have now with a formal and legal settlement, no man besides my *Adversary* could ever yet percieve, I am sure. For how is it possible, (let the humour of the nation be as inconstant and wilde as he woulde have it) *That these Lands can be a bar to our Lay Abbots in their Elections to Parliament*, since all men of quality and Estates (both *Papists* and *Protestants*) are concerned in them; whereas *The Purchases of Delinquents and Cavaliers Lands* were not only contrary to Law, but wholy in the hands of meane & insignificant men, hated also for their villany by the far greatest part of the Nation? Or how can any hurry or detriment that attended the *Rebels* of our times, represent to us a probability, That a *King* and *Parliament* may hereafter dissesse themselves of *Lands* (alienated already 120. yeares by lawfull Authority, & sold ever since at their full value) when *Queen Mary her selfe* with all her *Popish Clergy* and *Laity*, would needs have them (as I show'd you befor) confirmed on the *Occupants*, notwithstanding *That they were all Protestants or Scismatiques*; *That they had been Actors in the confusion and spoil of the Church*; *That they had pay'd little or nothing for them*; *and lastly were no wayes compa-*

rable to the number of those that (by reason of the dayly Subdivisions of these Lands) *do now a dayes possesse them.*

But seing my Adversary will have the material and sad Transactions of our *Protestant Rebells* in the Reigns of these two *Protestant Monarchs* brought on the Stage, he would have don well to have remember'd, how they were the long foreseen effects of the *Reformation*, & how out of Interest *the Ministers & Preachers of a Faction* (as 'tis the Endeavour of some at this Day) sow'd Jealousies among the People, and thereby incited them against all that was good and holy. This also the late times may very reasonably put us in mind of, That as it was impossible ever to be quiet in civil affaires without the *Restauration of the King*, so there is no hopes of Peace in the *Church*, 'till the old *Catholique Religion be reestablisht*, under which we have been the most glorious and potent Nation of Europe, whereas since it's Expulsion, we have seen those Confusions as are not no beparalleld in any story. Thus much therfor for the late Rebellion, and how advantagious an Instance it has been for my Adversary's buisinesse, let any man judge that can read.

If

If then for these and a thousand other Difficulties, no *English Parliament* (should they even desire a Reconciliation with *Rome*) can alter the *Property* of these Lands, we shall also soon finde it impossible for *Popes* in time to come to do it, though they were not already bound up by the aforementioned Concessions of their Predecessors; & my reason is, because there's no motive that could encline *Popes* heretofor, but must much more necessitate their Successors; and whereas the former had great and mighty rubs in the way, these can now have none to stumble at. For first, in *Julius* the 3d's Pontificat, *Religious* of all Houses were alive, who could with more than a seeming pretence put in their claim; but sincehis time, Succession is broken, and therfor their *Right* falls of course into other hands. In the next place, there is no great Magistrate (though it absolutly lies in his power) but must have reluctancy to be the Person that should give irrecoverably away all the *Revenues* & *Possessions* of his Dependents in a Kingdom; whereas now (besides many fresh Examples in other Countries) the transactions here of these two *Popes*, serve as sufficient precedents and warrants to any that shall hereafter follow.

Thirdly

Thirdly (out of the sence of *Sacrilege*) these *Lands* were not (as I said afore) when *Julius* the 3d. passt them away, in nothing neer so many hands as at present, and they that possesse them had them too as gifts, or for a very small confideration; so that if the *Resumption* then was found neither feasible nor reasonable, how impossible must it now be, the grievance in it selfe being far greater and more universal? Lastly, If the Rights of the Church were confirmed on the Occupants by 2. *Popes*, that were not oblig'd to it in Justice, but only moved thereto for the quiet of the nation, who can imagine that another *Pope* will offer to take them back (had he power) when by it he shall disoblige more People than ever, & commit also an absolute Injustice in it selfe? Injustice it would be of a high Nature, because the former Concessions have since drawn in many innocent *Buyers* of both *Religions*, and hoisted up that to twenty yeares purchase, which would not sell before for eight. But because my Antagonist will not much confide in the *Justice* or *good nature* of the *Pope*, or his *Partizans*, I will now show you Reader, that the Possessions of the Church are often for ever alienated by him, and

that

that this Title is held good by Catholiques; so that after such Grants, it lies not in his power to dissesse the *Proprietors* more of them, than of any other Estate they have.

If my Adversary doubts in the least of this, he may in six houres sail (if he pleases) see store of Examples; for he shall finde in *Flanders* (and the same too in other *Catholic Countries*) even the *Tithes* of many Parishes (in part or in whole) the Inheritance of several *Lay-Lords*; which happen's because time out of minde the *Church* for the ease of the *Pastor* (as 'twas then imagin'd) or some other such Reason, alienated the said *Tithes* for *Farmes*, *Pensions*, *Rent-charges*, & the like; Nay here in England we know, that *Hay*, *wood*, *Fruit*, &c. in many places are free from all *Pretences* of the *Minister*, though those things in themselves are as much due, as *Corne*, or any *Tithe* else whatever; and the Cause of this Exemtion is, because a Consideration (though now forgot) has been given the *Church* for it by the *Layity*. If then the *Church* for Reasons best known to her selfe, can (without power of *Resumption*, either in Law or Conscience) alienate that *Estate* of hers, which so many of our English Protestants would fain prove to be *Jure Divino* (and

'tis

'ris therfor that I do the more insist upon this Argument) who can doubt but (when she find's good Reasons for it) she may well alienate that, which she pretends no other right to, but a humane gift or Donation. Nor is it a doubt among *Catholiques*, had those antient and pious *Benefactors* been alive, besides the tacit submission in general of all such gifts to the wisdome of the Church, when she shall thinke the alterations of the first intended uses, to be greatly for the glory of God, which was the chief motive of these Donations; I say Catholiques doubt not, were those pious *Benefactors* alive, but that (besides this tacit submission) they would most willingly have themselves consented to the present change, tending so infinitly to the peace of our Distracted Kingdom; and we question not also in the least, but that the merciful and benigne favours of God Almighty, are as full and ample to them, as if no Alienations at all had been made.

In the next place, since we now suppose my *Adversary in the Low-Countries, considering these alienated Tithes*, I will entreat him when he has done, to make a step to *Liege*, where he will finde both Religious men and women of his own nation to converse with. If h'el ask then these ladies their opi-

opinion herein, they can tell him, That the very Prince that now governs has by the Autority of the Pope taken from them their former *Cloyster*, *Garden and Appendices* for his own uſe and ſervice; and though they were of themſelves for ſeveral reaſons unwilling to remove, yet no *Catholique Divine* or *Lawyer* here queſtions in the leaſt his *Highneſſes* title to the *Premiſſes*, or Their's that ſhall enjoy them by his gift or ſale hereafter. But becauſe he may perchance beleeve that our *Jeſuites* are better Caſuiſts than Nuns, let him diſcourſe with them & they ſhall (I dare be bound) not only confirme what I ſay, but informe him alſo, That having had licence from Rome, they have not long ago ſold to ſecular perſons (without the leaſt diſpute about the Title) ſome Revenues belonging to them at *Lovain*, & that they have there ſtill a little left, which will finde as many Lay-Chapmen (when they thinke fit to diſpoſe of it) as any mans Eſtate in the Towne.

From *Liege* there are excellent conveeviences to any part of the *Empire*, where my *Adverſary* ſhall; *eſpecially ſince the Treaty of Munſter* (of which we will preſently in this very Section treat at large) find much of the *Church Revenues* to have been enjoy'd by *Lay-men*, and that too

too by his *Holinesses Dispensation.*

The Territory of *Venice* borders (he well know's) on *Germany*, and this Famous *City*, is I promise him extraordinarily well worth the seing. Here he will soon understand, that in the late war of *Candy* the Pope did suppresse severall Abbeys of value, which the *Senate* presently sold for their support against the common Enemy of Christendom; & pray let him enquire, whether the *Buyers* feare a *Resumption*, or that their *Children* shall be fool'd out of those *Purchases* by the tricks of Priests and Religious. If then this quiet, and security be found so neare the *Pope*, even in *Italy* it selfe (where no body more scruples these, than any other Lands) how great is the malice, or at least incogitancy of my *Adversary*, that would fain affright us in *England* with wild Apprehensions, though our *Title* stand's on as firme and stable a foundation?

Since then our *Traveller* is in *Italy*, I know 'tis not possible for him to returne without a sight of *Rome*, a place where *Protestant* Strangers are as civilly and freely entertaind as the *Catholique*. When he comes here, he may not only recieve information of God know's how many such *Alienations*, but may also if he pleases

see

ſee the very *Bulls* themſelves that have authorized them; nay were he there at preſent he would find that *Cardinal Urſini* (Protector of *Poland*) interceed's with his *Holineſſe* for the Diſſolutiō of ſome *Religious houſes* in that *Kingdom* to ſupply the wants of the Treaſury in this ſo important a war.

But ſeeing the Grants of Popes fall in our Dish, 'twill not be amiſſe to conſider here a little my Adverſary's opinion of them, who ſayes, as I already mention'd in the ſumme of his Argumēts, *That Popes have uſurp'd on the Acts of their Predeceſſors, a thing juſtified by as good Canon Law, as is to be found in the Decretals*, and the ground of this Aſſertion is, becauſe he finds there in the Chapter [a] *Innotuit nobis*; *That his Holineſſe breaking through* (as he termes it) *the Decree of a Councel and his Predeceſſors to boot, declares peremptorily.* „ That „ though the Lateran Councel, and Pope „ Alexander had decreed a nullity to be in „ the Acts there ſpecified, yet the power of „ Diſpenſing is not taken away from the „ ſucceeding Popes, ſince that could not „ be intended by them, who could not „ prejudice the Right of the Succeſſor, „ who was to have the ſame Power that „ the other had, and it is a known Rule, „ That *Par in parem imperium non habet*, from

[a] *Decret. de Elect. & Elect. poteſtate*

from whence my Adversary would fain conclude, that the concession of one *Pope* may be vacated by another, and so farewell *Abbey Lands*, when his *Holiness* shall thinke fit to use his *Prerogative*.

Having heard Reader his notable Argument, let us examine the *Decretals* to see how the businesse stood, which was to this Effect. [a] *The Bishop of Worcester being dead the Moncks chose the Arch-Deacon of Yorke to succeed, who being a very pious and virtuous man, acquainted the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, That he was a Bastard, and consequently not eligible by the Canons; wherupon the matter was referred to the Pope, who answer'd That though the Canon of the Councel of Lateran, publisht by his Predecessor Alexander, did prohibit Bastards from this Promotion, yet his power of dispensing was not thereby taken away, it not being the intention of the Prohibitor to do it, for the before mentioned Reasons; nevertheless by Authority of this very Canon, he expressely null's the Election, and would not dispense, he said, with the Bastardy, because the Chapter had only desir'd his Approbation of their choice, and not his Dispensation.*

[a] *Decret. ib.*

This then beeing the whole case, how,

I pray, dos our Title to theſe Abbey Lands become, the worſe by it? *Is it becauſe a Pope* thinks, that 'twas not the intention either of his *Predeceſſors or the Councel to debar him from diſpenſing with an ordinary Conſtitution in Diſcipline*; for this Example has nothing more in it? Why 'tis ſo far from showing, *That his Holineſſe breaks through* (as my Adverſary affirms) *the Decree of a Councel, & of his Predeceſſors too boot*, That it ownes & corroborates it; for his Holineſſe only tell's us (and few Governours will looſe ſuppoſed Prerogatives, for want of claiming them) that the power of Diſpenſing was never intended to be taken from him; yet in ſtead of making uſe of it, he own's the Canon, & as we ſee, null's the Election, *by virtue of his Autority* even in expreſſe termes. But to helpe my Adverſary for once, who is methinks very unhappy in Examples, & to make his *Inſtance* as ſtrong, as he himſelfe would have it, we will ſuppoſe that the Pope was not oblig'd by the Canon, but did really diſpenſe with it, which nevertheleſſe is nothing to Our preſent diſpute. For do we not ſee *that* many *Chriſtian Princes*, & *Potentats* (and there is none I believe but pretend to it) have a juſt power to

diſ-

dispense with *penal Lawes*, though the *Propriety* of the Subject be no wayes in danger by it. *The King of England* (we know) *can presse men at will*; *can quarter them in Houses against the minds of the Owners*; *can execute in war without a Jury*; and in short can do *several things contrary to the very words of Magna Charta, or the Petition of Right*; and yet for all this, the *Grants* under the *great Seal*, and other *legal Acts* are as binding, asif these *Prerogatives* were relinquished. In like manner, may not the Pope have a real privilege to dispense, with Penalties & Rules of Discipline, & yet nevertheless be bound up by his Concessions? But because this is so evident and notorious; my *Adversary* changes his Argument, the better (as he hopes) to amuse his party; and cryes; *Popes may pretend as Kings do, That they have been deciev'd in their Grants, that there is no prescription against the Church who is ever a* Minor, *as also there are points of Law arising from the very penning the Acts for the suppressing of Religious Houses, that may in a favorable conjuncture defeat the present Propriators.* Well urg'd worthy Sir, & if it will not offend you, I shall acquaint you with my present thoughts; to wit, That *Doctor du Moulin*

was

was the nimble Lawyer that found out these legal Fetches, for 'tis arguing, I am sure after his way, who (though all the search & enquiry imaginable has bin made by our Enemies for 26. yeares together) still tells us in every Edition of his Book, (as I[a] show'd you before) *That when the businesse of the late bad times are once ripe for a History, the Papists will be found the Contrivers of them, & of the King's Death.* In like manner are we here inform'd by you *of strange dangers in a favorable Conjuncture*, as if any Conjuncture could be more favorable for the *Popes* Advocats & Pickloks of the Law, than *Queen Mary's dayes*, both by reason the Alienations were fresh, & her Party greatly incens't upon several accounts, with the other motives now newly handled. Besides this, there's not the least force in any of these suggestions, unlesse it were absolutly Law, *That Princes could vacate all their Acts, whensoever they pretend they have bin decieved in them, & that every quirck (that can be started to favour their Interest) must presently passe as unquestionable.* Nay (to show you, Reader, how unfortunate my Adversary still is) were this the *Prerogative* of the civil *Magistrate*, yet the *Pope*

[a] *Vid. Rep. p.* 72.

might be far enough from his Ends; for it follows not, That the King & Parliament must allow every prejudicial pretence of the *Court of Rome*, & without their consent & approbation nothing can be done we know. Who can also fancy that the *Catholiques of England* (who suffer so infinitly for Conscience,) would buy lands which cannot be possest with a safe Conscience; or that they should give 20. yeares purchase for them, if they thought any man could resume them at will? But why do I trouble you Reader with a matter so insignificant, & wilde, having already showd, that such Lands have been often sold, and quietly possest by the Buyers, even in *Italy* it selfe, & that there are also more of the same tenure now in *Poland* under Debate, which will finde Chapmen enough if his Holinesse once assent's to the sale.

But truly I did never imagine, he would have urg'd of all things the *Councel of Trent*, as a bar to the *Popes* Alienation of the English Church Land, because forsooth it *establisht* (as he sayes) *all Canons, Councels, Apostolical Ordinances, Bulls of Popes made in favour of Eccleſiaſtiques, and their Privileges*; which instance if it proves any thing in our present controversie, show's

shows the Authority of the *Pope* in making Constitutions, and vacating them. For if our *Parliament* should in their money *Bill*, or any other appoſite *Act*, approve the preſent war with *Holland*, or *League* with *France*, 'twould be ſo far from taking away any Privilege from the King of not breaking with the one, & agreeing with the other, when he thinkes fit, that it rather ſtrengthen's, the Royal Prerogative. But Reader (to let you ſee yet farther my Adverſary's ſtrange inadvertency in mentioning this *Councel* as inconvenient to us by its Decrees) be pleas'd to know, That the ſolemne confirmation of theſe lands by Julius the 3. (a thing done with all deliberation & formality) paſt in the time of this very Councel, and by the hands too of the ſaid *Cardinal*, Preſident of this Councel, which never in the leaſt complaind that the Pope had injur'd the Church, or exceeded the Bounds of his Autority; ſo that inſtead of having our title weakened hereby, it own's by beeing ſilent (in a buiſineſſe of ſo mighty a Concernment) his Holineſſe's Power of Alienations, & conſequently confirmes the ſales.

As for *Pope Symachus* he made once,

'tis true, an order, *that no Eccleſiaſtical Land ſhould be parted with*, but all Rules of Government may be alter'd as well in the Church as in the State, If they that have the Power & Autority thinke fit to do it. So much then for my Adverſary's Obſervations at Rome concerning this affaire; & now let us attend him Homewards for he is, I finde, very earneſt to be gon.

But perchance, being weary of riding he may deſire to returne by ſea, & if ſo, *Malta* will be no ill place to get shipping; nor much out of his way, becauſe being a *Virtuoſo*, and Admirer of Invention, he muſt needs ſee the rare Antiquities neer *Naples*, and the ſtrange wonders about *Sicily*, ſo celebrated of old by the Poets. At *Malta* hee'l recieve no little civility I am ſure; and here he may eaſily procure even out of their *Archives* the Particulars of the mighty *Poſſeſſions* this *Order* once had in *England*, and of the great *Eſtate* they alſo enjoy'd in *Holland*, and the other United Provinces; & this will plainly demonſtrate the fulneſſe of his *Holineſſe's Grant* in alienating *Church Lands*; for he will be ſoon inform'd that theſe *Knights*, pretend no title to any thing in our Countrey, becauſe all is ſo

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authentically confirm'd to the *Occupants*; whereas to the Lands that are withheld by the *Dutch*, they make a continual claim, hauing, they thinke, the same Right to them as ever; and therfor, as often as any good Occasion is offerd, they sollicite the neighbouring Princes that Justice may be done them, and threaten the *States* not seldome themselves, to fall on their Traders in the *Mediterranean*, for this their unjust Detention.

My Adversary being embarqued & put to sea, wee'l suppose him with a prosperous Gale to have now got up the *Thames*, where calling for a Boat, he Lands at the *Temple*, as convenient staires for most parts of the town, as also out of a kind of I know not what respect-full Gratitude to the Generous and late obliging *Maltezes*, because he understands they had formely some Interest here. But before he visit's his Friends, I must needs entreat him a little to walke in the Garden, or if that door be shut, to take a turne about the Monuments of the poor *Knights Templers* in this Church, which *Order*, he well remmembers were the Owners and first Founders of the House; and if I be not decieved, these once famous men

will furnish us with something material to our present business.

p. 573. For, as [a] *Heylyn* has it in his Geography, *They had no lesse than 16. thousand Lordships in Europe*, which vast Estate (though it infinitly exceeded our Ecclesiastical Losse) was not only given away at a clap by *Clement* 5. to the Order of *Saint John*, now called of *Maltha*, but

p. 574. also, (as the said [b] *Heylyn* and the numerous Historians, that treat of this matter tell us) *Philip the Fair of France hop'd to procure it of the Pope for his son*; so that the right of Alienation of these *Church Lands*, or his *Holinesse's power* was not the thing, it seems, then doubted of by Lay Pretenders, but his consent and Approbation; nor have the Maltheses at present proportionably this Revenue in any Catholic Countrey, though before this Gift, viz. about Anno 1240. they *had* 19. *thousand Mannors in Christendome*, as [c] *Fuller*, & [d] *Cambden* relate; which shows that for weighty consideratiõs, they had liberty to part with much of this great Wind-fall, & of their owne Estate also.

[c] *Ful: Holy war. p.* 48.

[d] *Cam: Brit. p.* 433.

Infinite are the Examples that might be show'd of things past away from the *Church* in all Ages, and that the *Title* of the *Lay Proprietors* to

them

them has been held good by *Papists* both before and since the Reformation. But how can my Adversary hope of all People, to startle us *English men* by his vain Pretences from Law, *since the very four Colleges of our Law, are all built on Lands alienated from the Church, even in the time of Popery it selfe*; and certainly the cautious and grave *Professors* of this *Science*, would never have lay'd out so much money, had the Title been questionable.

First, the two *Temples* we see were the very mansion Houses of the Templars aforesaid, *of which a large or perpetual lease* (as [a] *Buck* sayes) *was granted to our Lawyers, by the Joannites, in the Reigne of Edward the* 3; or as [b] *Heylyn* has it, *sold to them by the said Order*. Nor is there any Difficulty, but that (with the approbation of the Church) they might sell it out right, or so alienat it, if that should be most for their purpose, since that the Templars (as we finde in the said *Buck*) could, when they had built this magnificent Palace, *convey their former to the Bishop of Lincoln, whose Successors did the like to the Earle of Southampton afterwards*.

[a] *Bucks. Vniversf. p.*1068 B.

[b] *Heyl. Geog. p.* 574.

[c] *Ibid.*

Secondly, *Lincoln's Inne was a forfited Estate*,

Estate, which Hen: 3. gave Ralph de novâ Villâ Bishop of Chicester, & he, (as [a] *Buck* says) *built there a fair house, for himselfe and his Successors, who possess't it till Henry the 7. Reigne, and then it was conveyed to Judge Suliard, & other Feoffees.* Nay the *Earle of Lincoln's* part, which now gives the name to the whole, was (according to this [b] Author) *the old Monastery of the Dominicans or Black Fryers, and given him by Edward the first*; so that here wee se, that neither *King*, *Noblemen*, nor *Lawyers*, scrupled to be even then Owners, of what had belong'd to the *Church*.

[a] *Buck Vniversf.* p. 1072

[b] *Ibid.*

Lastly, *for Grey's Inne*, 'twas the house of the old *Barons* of that name; and a part, it seem's, of the *Mannor of Peerpool*, which was (according to [c] *Bishop Andrews's* Testimony) *an antient Prebend of the Cathedral of St. Paul's.*

[c] *Bucks Vniversf.* p. 1073

I should here end as to this Affaire, were there not some few loose Cornes yet to blow of; and which is my greatest wonder, my *Adversary* fancy's some strength in them; for otherwise he would never have brought them on the Stage a second time. The weighty Instances are these (hinted by me just now in the Recapitulation of his Arguments against the se-

ſecurity of Abby Lands) viz: *That Acts of Reſumption are not things unheard of in our and forreign Story; Nor is the preſent French King's method of reſuming the Demeſnes of his Crown a contemtible Argument of Feare to the English Lay Abbots, becauſe I do not pretend Popes more ſtrongly tyed than other Governors.*

In the firſt place, I never mentioned, as my Adverſary charges me, *That Popes could not be more ſtrongly tyed than other Governors*; All that I ſaid was, *No body but He could fancy that Popes cannot be tyed to an agreement, as well as other Governors*; yet Reader to pleaſe him for once, ſuppoſe they had been my words, How I pray doe theſe two Inſtances diſprove them? For though a King in his own Countrey can at pleaſure by force take away from a private Subject his *Ox or his Aſſe*, yet certainly it dos not follow, that the ſaid Subject ought to feare the like Tyranny, or is in danger of it from the Pope. But to show you ſtill how ſtrangely miſtaken my *Adverſary* is in all his Examples, be pleas'd now to know the ſtate of the caſe, which is only this. *The former Kings of France mortgaged their Demeſne to ſeveral, and this King claim's the privilege of redeeming ſome pieces of it*; nor

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do these that are concern'd pretend that the premisses were sold outright, but complaine that the King repay's them not what is really due to them. But let the matter be as it will; what is (as I said) the Exaction or Tyranny of a Prince over his own Subjects, to the *Pope* in England, where He can do nothing in Temporals without the Consent of the King & People: & certainly my Adversary might to as much purpose have urg'd the *Grand Segniors* Practices in his Dominions as this, & may as well also affright us with them.

Now concerning the *Acts* of *Resumption in our stories*, which he harps upon; let any man consider whether the Consequence tends not to Sedition, since nothing can more effectually stir up all unprincipled men against *Kingship* it selfe, *than to thinke that the Lands of the Crown* (which have been long disperst among so many thousand Families) *are yet resumable*; nor is my Conjecture altogether groundlesse that he speak's upon designe, when we see that it is to stir up & affright people, that *Abbey-Lands* are thus question'd by him. Besides, I do infinitly admire he mentions the King's *Fee-farme Rents* (which were sold last yeare) as a dan-

dangerous title, and that not bing but Neceſſity forc't men to thoſe Purchaſes; whenas every body knows, that the backwardneſſe to buy them proceeded from the glut of the commodity, which is a ſufficient cauſe to make any Market fall; as alſo from the general want of money in the nation. But truly I am beholden to my *Adverſary* for his Inſtances, which are ever ſo happy as to back my Aſſertions, & to grant me all I deſire; & thus dos his putting *Abbey-Lands* in balance with theſe alienated from the *Crown*, whoſe title is ſo little queſtioned, that many parcels even of the laſt *Fee-farme Rents* have bin ſold for 20. yeares purchaſe, as ſoon as ever the King had parted with them. Nay my Adverſary is now reduc'd to that Extremity, that becauſe he muſt ſay ſomething, He makes both in the *Seaſonable Diſcourſe*, & alſo in it's *Defence* this rare Argument; *Becauſe the late Rebell-Purchaſers enjoy now nothing of the Leaſe of 99. yeares of Church lands offer'd by Charles the firſt, & which they themſelves (he confeſſes) then refuſed, Ergo if Popery come's in, the Condition of the preſent Propriators of Abby Lands will be dangerous*; & yet he know's the *Propriators of Abby Lands* have their Eſtates confirm'd to them by all

Lawes imaginable both *Eccleſiaſtical* & civil.

As for *Campanella*, I will never contend with him in *Politiques*; my Adverſary may, for he pretends to the Science; yet if that *Author* affirmes *that there are many Millions of Religious men*, I muſt ſay he is decieved; for there are not one *Million* in the World. Nor dos that great *Proteſtant Politico*, *Sr. Edwin Sands* (who like another *Tacitus* will have every thing a myſtery,) ſay any more, than [a] *That their number perhaps may paſſe a million*; though when he comes to make up his Accounts, the Particulars (as 'tis the conſtant fate of our *Proteſtant* Calculations) fall infinitly ſhort of the charge; for he tells us, & this too with an Emphaſis, [b] *That the Franciſcans alone in the time of Pope Sixtus quintus, were found to be* 30. *thouſand, & that the Capucins do vaunt to be* 8000; when as *Reader* you muſt know, that the Franciſcans are deem'd by every body, who has the leaſt inſight in theſe matters, to contain a fifth part of all the *Regulars* in our Church; & that there are not above 2. Orders or 3. at moſt, which the *Capucins* do not equal; ſo that if we follow the Proportions, which this *Surveyor* General of

[a] *Surey* p. 74.

[b] *Ib.*

of the *Popish* affaires setts us, the number of the *Religious* will not exceed 150. thousand. But *quid ad Rhombum*, what is this to the present buisinesse; & yet truly it is as much as his late citation out of the *Traité Politique*, which I will meddle no more with, since he thinks there is too much said of it to his disparagement in the Answer to the *Seasonable Discourse*.

But 'tis high time for me to give our *Traveller* some respite, having detain'd him I fear too long at the *Temple*; & therfor he may for a while recieve the visits of his impatient Friends, who perchance will be yet impatienter when they finde, that in this voyage (beeing the little *Tour* of Europ) he has brought home too many Assurances, *that Popery can never dissesse us of our Rights.*

Having thus fully proved *how certain & just a title all English Purchasers have to their Estates, which formerly belong'd to the Church*, I must now *Reader* with your permission wait a little on *Dr. Stillingfleet*, to show you his ingenuity, since he has been pleased in his *Preface against the Treatises occasioned by his book of the Idolatry in the Church of Rome*, to have a notable fling, as he fancied, at the *Answer of the Seaso-*

Of the Treaty of munster & of Dr. Still's quarrel about it.

Seasonable Discourse; and therefore that you may the more clearly see the *Cause*, *Manner*, & *Oddnesse* of his carping, I will with much Brevity rip up all things from the beginning.

Know then that in the last Paragraph but one, of the said *Seasonable Discourse*, It's Author like a dexterous Orator (that fails not of a strong Argument, or ravishing insinuation at least in the close) thought fitt to tell us „ That some *Papists* (meaning the *Iesuites*) can set up a new Gospel „ where there is not a word of the Crosse of *Christ*; can worship Heathen Idols with „ that pittifull Reserve of having a Crucifix in their sleeve, to which they privatly direct their Adoration; all which „ as they are (he sayes) notorious for „ being complaind of to the *Pope*, „ (by *Palafax Bp:* of *Angelopolis* in his „ Letter to *Innocent* the tenth) so are they „ uncontrouled for ought appears, & permitted by him.

Now *Reader* knowing that this Calumny was stollen out of Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Works, what fitter or better Answer could I make both in Justice to the ingenious & Learned *Person* that had already so fully confuted it, as also to avoid the guilt of being either impertinent or a Pla-

a *Idols of the Church of Rome* p. 441.

Plagiary; I say, what fitter Answer could there be, than what I used, viz: [a] *That if my Adversary's false citing of Del-Rio were abominable, little less was his mentioning the Accusation of the Bp. of Angelopolis against the Jesuites, when he knew it had been answer'd to the full in the late Letters against Dr. Stillingfleet's Idolatry.* But seing the Dr. will by no meanes, yet thinke that those *Letters* or *Observations* on his Book have fully answer'd this Indictement; you your selfe Reader shall be the Judge, when I have repeated some of the irrefragable Arguments in them.

[a] *Answ. to the Seasonable Discours p. 21.*

First the *Writer* of those *Letters* says [b] to this purpose ,, That *St. Amour* (from ,, whose journal the Dr. took this calum- ,, ny) was a convicted *Libeller*, & that ,, this very Book was burn't by the hand ,, of the Hangman; In the next place, ,, being a notorius *Jansenist*, whatsoever ,, has only his Authority, ought not to ,, be credited, & consequently urg'd ,, against his professed Enemies, espe- ,, cially when there are many weighty ,, Reasons to believe, that the Accusation ,, was forg'd at *Port Royal* the prime neast ,, of that Faction. & truly this I must say, that the Difference between the Bp: & *Jesuites* about their Privileges was an

[b] *Obser. on Dr. Still: Idol: &c. p. 59.60. 61.62. & 69.*

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excellet Subject for a Libel. 3ly. „ The said „ Author ask's (supposing the Bp: had „ written such a Letter to *Rome*) whether he „ were fittest to be believ'd or the *Archb-* „ *Bishop of Mexico*, the *Vice-Roy*, the *Kings* „ *Officer's* and *Iudges*, the *Inquisitors* with all „ other *Orders*, nay the *Bishop's own Chaptre*; „ for that very *Letter* confesses these were „ gaind by the *Jesuites*, & that the Bp: was „ left alone. 4ly. He sayes, That the *Popes* „ *Breve* Anno 48. (which the Dr. cites) „ is so far from confirming what the Bp: „ had objected against the *Jesuites*, that „ it never mention's any thing to their „ Disparagement: Nor after 6. yeares „ Dispute did the *Holy Congregation* (as „ appear's by their Determinations) ever „ finde fault with their carriage; but on „ the contrary called them *A Laudable &* „ *Profitable Order*, having also formerly „ advis'd the *Bp:* to *Christian Meekness*, & „ the like. 5ly. That the *King's Counsel* „ call'd the *Bp:* into *Spain*, & made him „ resigne his former *Bishoprick* for another „ of lesse value, an Argument he had not „ behav'd himselfe too well. and Lastly, „ That *Pelicott* (who was the *Bishops* in- „ timate acquaintance) say's in print, *He* „ *never wrot that Letter*; & *moreover that* „ *the said Bishop in his Annotations, on a*

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„piece of St. Tereſa, acknowleges his Paſſion „against the Jeſuites, & in ſeveral Letters „afterwards ſpoke highly in their commendation. This *Reader* is ſome part of the *Anſwer* to the *Dr.* & tell me whether it is not home, nay whether a man can be more fully and plainly confuted? But what do you thinke he replies to this and the reſt? why all that he ſaye's (after 9. months conſideration and ſtudy) is, [a] *That we may eaſily gueſſe how hard his Adverſary was put to it, when he makes the Letter of the Bp: ſaid forg'd by the Janſeniſt; and that thus he has ſhifted the fault from the Indies to Europe, and to vindicate ſome Papiſts there from Idolatry, He charges others here with Forgery.* Is not this a rare Reply, & worthy of the Learned *Dr. Stillingfleet*, who now, in ſpight of all ſubterfuges, has evidently ſhown, *How hard he is put to it himſelfe*, when he muſt for his ſafety call *Janſeniſme Popery*, which is a Hereſy as much condemn'd as his own. Nay if *St. Amour* and his Party had been true Catholiques, who would ſay that it is an imputation to our Religion to convict an ill Member of his Crimes? But if this Letter were not forg'd (as 'tis equal in our preſent Diſpute whether it were or no) I wish the Dr. ſo much Grace as to

[a] *Vide the aforeſaid Preface*

imitate the Bp: who thought himselfe bound in Conscience, as we see his friend *Pelicot* affirmes, to confesse & retract those wilfull errors, which he acknowleges Passion and selfe-Interest drove him to. Passion I am sure drove the Dr. to fall upon me, who never yet gave him the least Provocation, nor could otherwise do than I did, as I thinke, I have sufficiently proved; and if it piqued him to see his Errors brought a new upon the stage, He should rather have reprehended my Adversary, for using a Topique in his *Seasonable Discourse*, so plainly and so notoriously answer'd. But since this worthy *Divine* has made so famous an onset, & taxt me with *Confidence*, *Ignorance* & *Untruth*, I will fall now upon the Examination of his Charge, that the World may hereafter know how *Candid*, how *Judicious*; & how *Learned a man* He is.

The *Author* of the *Seasonable Discourse* being well satisfied that Humane Interest is the best Argument to deterre men from hearkening to Truth, strove with might and main to make all *English Protestants* imagine, [a] *That Popery (notwithstanding his Holinesse's Consent to Qu: Mary's Act of Parliament) would yet disseise all the present Propriators of their Church Lands.*

[a] *Seas. Disc. p.* 21.

To

To this scar-crow I answerd. [a] That *Popes could be tyed to Agreements as well as other Governors*; *That the Alienation of Church Lands was no wonder to Christendom*; *That several Abbeys had even lately been suppress't by the Pope in the Territory of* Venice, *and That the Senat's sale of them with his Confirmation, made (as every body there confesses) an unquestionable Title*; *That the Knights of* Malta *demand daily of the Hollanders their Lands, but never of the* English, *because of the Popes Confirmation*; *That the Papists of* England *Possesse proportionably as much of the alienated Church Revenues, as the Reformed, & yet have neither temporal nor spiritual Apprehensions about them. But together with these instances.* „ *I urg'd the case of* „ Germany, *and desir'd my Adversary to* „ *go thither where there are many Papists &* „ *Protestant Princes, Noblemen and Gentle-* „ *men that have (Especially since the* „ *Treaty of Munster) either Bishopricks,* „ *Abbeys, or the like, confirmed to them by the* „ *Pope.* Now *Dr. Stillingfleet* being angry with me upon the account of the Letters as afore said, and having got my *Answer* to the *Seasonable Discourse*, resolves to be reveng'd to purpose, by discovering some notable error in it. But, Reader, after all his examination & scrutiny, for 'tis

[a] *Answ. to Seas. Dis. p.* 21.

not tobe ſuppos'd that had he found a more conſiderable one he would have paſſed it by for a leſſer; I ſay after his diligent ſearch, what found he out do you thinke? Truly his Fury and Rage had nothing to ſpend themſelves on, but the above mentioned Parentheſis (*Eſpecially ſince the Treaty of Munſter*) & preſently believing that I was utterly undone, cry'd out in his ſaid Preface, *That I had admirable Learning & skill in Hiſtory; That He perceives that Ignorance ſerves us for other purpoſes than meerly to be the Mother of Devotion; then he tell's us, That not only the Pope's Nuntio, (afterwards* Alexander *the* 7.th) *had proteſted againſt the ſaid Treaty, but alſo that* Innocent *the* 10.th *himſelfe* 1651, *did declare void all Articles of it that related to the Liberty of Religion, Church Lands, &c;* & having thus pay'd me, he ask's, *If I call this the Popes confirmation?* and then falling into a more patheticall Interrogation, ſayes; *Is it credible that I who in the beginning of my Anſwer had charg'd the late Proteſtant Books (which I ingeniously call Libels) to be cram'd with nothing elſe but what they know falſe, ſhould within a few Pages have the Confidence to affirme in the face of the World ſo notorious an Untruth.* And to conclude, *He delivers me up to my own*

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Adversary to be chastised for my other Extravagances.

Pray *Dr. Stillingfleet* what do you meane by this high and mighty Objection? Is the *Answer* to the *Seasonable Discourse* confuted, becausse you unadvisedly fancy me to mistake *in a bare Parenthesis of 6. words*; & in one also (though false) which diminishes not the force of the Argument, as the *Reader* shall see, together with your Candor in this very plain Example. Suppose that I were to show an odd man, *That there were* de facto *several Kings and Kingdoms in Europe*, & there upon should reckon *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Genoa*, *Portugal*, *&c*; now becausse *Genoa* is a *Common wealth*, ought not he justly to be deem'd a Caviller, & one that has nothing to say for himselfe that (waving the other examples) should cry, *I urge a falsity*; *That I impose on my Readers*; & *That my Assertion is not proved*. In the like manner, would any man but *Dr. Stillingfleet*, have taken hold so materially, as he dos, of my Instance in *Germany* (though the Pope had made no Confirmation there) whenas my other instances prove sufficiently the buisinesse? Nay what deluisive evasions must we thinke the Dr. hunt's after, that insist's only upon the

Parenthesis, *Especially since the Treaty of Munster*, seing He cannot be so ignorant but to know that there have been formerly Alienations of Church Lands by the Pope's Consent there as well as in other Countries; & if so, whatsoever has been thus sold, & now enjoy'd by laymen, is as much to my purpose against the *Seasonable Discourse* though a 1000 yeares ago, as if the Confirmation were since the aforesd Treaty.

So far then concerning the Doctor's *Candor*; now let us come to his *Judgment*, which he must give me leave to question a little, whenas this Pretence (which he has catch'd at) serves only (according to the Protestant fashion) to wound him selfe, & to corroborate what I urg'd against the Author of the *Seasonable Discourse*. My Argument was „ That no „ danger by Popery, as the said Author „ would faine make us believe in his Poli- „ tiques, could happen to the English Pro- „ prietors of Abbey Lands, *because the* „ *Pope had confirm'd their Sale*, which made „ their Title good, at it had done we saw „ in all places, where Lands were so con- „ firmed; & among other Examples, I „ mentioned *Germany* (*especially since* „ *the Treaty of Munster*) as a Countrey where

„ where the Pope had shown his Indul-
„ gence. *That's a notorious untruth* (*says* the *Doctor*) *For the Pope would never agree to that Treaty.* Why then, reply I, if so, & if there be any force in that Objection, had his Holineſſe ratified thoſe Alienations by ſigning this *Treaty*, or by any other wayes, *The title of the German Proprietors to them had been ſecured*; for you do not by your cavil pretend to queſtion the *Popes Power*, only forſooth that he would never confirme the ſaid Alienated Lands; ſo that by your own Inference it follow's, *That the Engliſh*, (*to whom ſuch a confirmation has bin moſt ſolemnly made*) *are in no dangers of looſing their Eſtates.* And thus Sir have you, as I ſaid, ſtrengthned my Argument, & got nothing by this noiſe, but to ruine further that vain plot, by which ſeveral of your Party ſtill hope to incenſe the nation againſt a *Religion*, that kept us long famous, & equal I am ſure, if not Superior to any other people of Chriſtendom; a thing ſeldom I thinke reported of us ſince the *Reformation*. But now if you deſign'd, by your rare diſcovery, to prove me an *Impoſer* upon my *Reader*, or the dangerous condition of the English *Purchaſers*, you muſt then have let us ſeen, *That in Germany Lands were confirmed by the*

Pope,

Pope, & that nevertheleſſe they have bin ſince reſum'd. This *Sir* I muſt tell you was your Cue, & nor hand over head to urge; *That they are there all unconfirmed*; which only ſerves (ſuppoſing it true) to wound your ſelfe, as I have already ſhow'd you; & if the Parentheſis you quarrel at, had bin falſe, nay moreover a real part of my Argument, I had not (having given other Examples) injur'd (as I ſaid) my *Reader*, but only committed an inadvertency as harmleſſe, as calling *Thomas* by the name of *John* in a Catalogue of Witneſſes, or as the inſtãce mentioned in the State of *Genoa*.

But now, what muſt the World thinke of the great *Dr: Stilling fleet*, if (after all this disingenuous, & (as I thinke inſignificant ſtir) The Pope has (*Eſpecially ſince the Treaty of Munſter*) confirm'd to Laymen in Germany, the Revenues of the Church; & that you may *Reader* have ſome Particulars, I ſhall acquaint you with a few, which occur'd to me even in my own little Travels, & which are alſo publicly known throughout the Empire.

1: This preſent *Duke of Bavary*, (as well as *Maximilian* his Father) not only enjoy'd the Revenues of ſeveral Abbeys, but has endowed alſo new *Colleges* with ſome of their *Lands*, & charg'd others with

with great *Pensions*, or annual *Payments*; & all this with the *Popes positive consent*, which justifies his own fruition of them, & makes the title of the *Propriators*, that clame under him, indisputable.

2ly. The *Duke of Nieuhourg* that now is, has had *Dispensations* from the *Pope*; for both He, & his Father posset many things, that before *Luther's* time belong'd to the *Church*.

3ly The *Landgrave Ernestus of Hassia*, yet living, has also obtaind the *Pope's Indulgence* & Favour herein: nor want they there more Instances of this Kind, if they were necessary, as all *Germans* know; & if any Prince perchance has given back any thing to the Old *Religious Orders*, 'tis yet nothing to our Dispute; for *Qu: Mary of England* restor'd all that she her selfe had, which was no manner of obligation either to her Popish or Protestant Subjects, or lessend in the least their Title.

Thus stands the case as to matter of Fact; & now *Reader* let me aske you, *If in Germany (Especially since the Treaty of Munster) the Revenues of the Church have not bin confirm'd to Lay-men by the Pope?* But seing the Dr insists so much on it, *That the Treaty of Munster has not been confirmed by the Pope*, which was never my Assertion, for what I affirmed was, *That (especially since that Treaty)*

Treaty) *Church Lands there have been confirmed*; I say seing the *Dr.* insist's so upon this needless Point, I will now also show you, *That this very Treaty has been confirm'd by the Pope*, at least much more than I believe the Doctor's *Learning* has yet informed him of.

There are 2. sorts of confirming things; the one *when we positively or explicitly declare*, the other, *when implicitly or connivingly*; to wit, in letting our Friends & Agents without reprehensions concurre, & then countenancing their Actions. As for the first way, or positive confirmation, I thinke no body could expect it from the *Pope*, seing the *Arch-Bishoprick of Magdeburg* (call'd heretofore the *Metropolis* of all *Germany*) the great *Arch Bishoprick of Bremen*, the *Bishopricks of Osnaburg, Minden, Halberstads, Verden*, & in short, almost all the *Church Lands* of the North were swallowed up by the *Reformed Princes*, who never troubled themselves, whether they had the *Popes* Consent or no. But though his *Holiness* (as the common father of the *Church*) was not for these & other Reasons openly to agree to this *Treaty*, yet finding it tended so much to the settlement of the *Empire*, It may be well said, He own'd it under

hand

hand; seeing the [a] *Emperour*, the *French King*, & all the *Catholique Princes of Germany* as well *Ecclesiasticks* as *Seculars* consented to it, & became *Warrantees* for the maintenance of it, without the least check or complaint of the *Apostolique See*. Nay Anno 1659 (being ten yeares after) the said French King (when there was no necessity of it, unlesse he esteemed it an Honour) stiles himselfe in the 122. Article of his then Agreement with Spain, a *Confederate for the maintenance of the Treaty of Munster*; & yet neither his *Holinesse*, nor his *Agents* were disgusted at the *Title*, though *Alex*: the 7.th were then *Pope*, who had been Nuntio at this *Treaty*, & consequently had the more reason to be angry, if he had not tacitly, as I say'd, consented to it for the general Good. Besides, 'twas aggreed on at the said Treaty, [b] *That for ever afterwards there should be chosen into the Bishoprick of Osnaburg, a Papist & a Protestant alternatively*; whereupon *William Comt* of *Wartenberg* (the old *Catholique Bishop*) was again recieved, having formerly been driven out by the House of *Lunenburg*. After some time the said *William* dying, there was admitted by the consent of the *Chapter* who (are almost all of the *Roman Faith*) the present *Prince*

[a] *Vid. art. Pacis Germano Suedica p. 103.*

[b] *Art. Pacis Germ: Suec. 84.*

Prince Ernestus, though a *Lutheran*. Now the *Pope* never censuring nor punishing the said *Chapter* (that according to the *Canons* are to loose their Rights) nor ever pretending to present a new *Prelate*; for by the *Concordate of Germany*, if no body is presented to a *Bishoprick* in 3. months, (& a *Heretique* being *Subjectum incapax* is reputed no body) the choice falls *illâ vice* to his *Holinesse*; I say all this happening in a place where the *Pope* has Jurisdiction, show's, That he tacitly consented for the quiet of Christendom to this *Treaty*. Nay in 1664. whilst I my selfe was at *Rome*, this very *Ernestus* was there interceding even with *Alex*: 7.th that his son might succeed him, which perchance he has also obtained.

Thus have I according to my promise acquainted you with the *Cause*, *Manner*, *& Oddnesse* of the Doctor's carping, by making it (as you see) most evidently appeare, that were his charge never so true, it could be no otherwise urg'd against me (even in it's utmost Rigour) than as a harmlesse mistake; & yet this inconveniency would then happento him, that the Inference of this Proof retorted, must tend to his own dammage, seeing it is so great an acnowle-

legement of *the validity of the title of the present English Lay Abbots*; a thing I suppose which the Dr, no more than my Adversary would have the World believe, it being one of their chief Topiques to incite People against Popery. I say, according to my promisse, I have show'd the *Cause*, *Manner*, & *Oddnesse* of the *Doctor's* carping, had his charge bin true; but now on the other side, having proved it false both in my sence, and, which is yet worse, in his own, I leave you Reader to consider whether it be not a blow to his *Candor*, *Judgment* & *Learning*, as I told you in the begining. For my part I know not how he could more injure himselfe, or justifie the *Answer to the Seasonable Discourse* (which was written in haste, & in a place, as 'tis in it's Proem, where Books and other conveniences were wanting) than after long hunting for Objections, to finde nothing but a *Parenthesis*; nay so exact & true a one (according to all the Rules of Writing) that though it be omitted, the Argument remain's still perfect and entire. The Dr. was nevertheless resolved to attaque me, even without Provocation (for I am sure I never yet began with any man in my life) & therfor I hope I may now lawfully hint at

some

some of his rare Arguments against *Popery*, that (as I have already by the confutation of this charge show'd his *Ignorance*,) I may also give you a little touch of his *Confidence* & *Untruth*, which are the three kinde Epithets he has been pleas'd to bestow on me.

As for the Doctor's *Confidence*, what greater manifestation of it can there be, than *to desire our Catholique Brethren* (in the same *Preface* where He lay's this Crime at my dore) *to be more sparing in their censure both of his, & his Party's unfaithfull Representing the Popish Doctrine*; and this even after He has in that very *Paragraph* openly told the World; *That Contrition being* *Vid. the General Preface.* *definid by the Counsel of Trent, a Grief of minde & detestation of sin committed with a purpose of sinning no more, therfor* forsooth *Attrition* (which is, still he sayes, in the said *Councel* but an *imperfect Contrition*) *must be such a Grief & Detestation of sin past, as implies but an imperfect purpose of sinning no more.* Now because *Catholiques* hold that *Attrition* is sufficient with the helpe of the *Sacraments* to put a sinner actually into the Favour of God, the Dr. with much Zeale demand's; *If there can be a Doctrine invented by men that dos more effectually destroy the Necessity of a good life, than*

than this: and you must know *Reader*, that it is one of the main drifts of his late Writings to make his Partizans believe, *That Popery is a hinderance to a good life.* Certainly, as I said, there was never a piece of greater Confidence, than to make such a formal Declaration after so abominably & knowingly false an Inference; especially since the *Councel of Trent* (even cited by him) expressly, plainly, and without ambiguity determines; *That before Attrition can be available to prepare us for justification, it must exclude the will of sinning.* But being 'tis the *Doctor's* Custome (as 'tis alwayes their's that have an ill Cause in hand) this way to delude their ordinary Readers, I will here briefly set down what we meane both by *Contrition* & *Attrition*, & then we shall see that the Church of *England*, and all Christian Churches in the world are in reality of our Opinion in that point; though *Dr. Stillingfleet* and others, for their present turne will have it erronious and destructive.

Contrition we call, *A sorrow for sin & an absolute Resolution of sinning no more, out of our Love to God, because 'tis contrary to his Goodnesse & Will, & not because we are in danger of Hell by it. Attrition*, we call, *A sorrow for sin with an absolute Resolution*

of

sinning no more, out of the Feare of Punishment, or consideration of the foulneſſe of sin in it ſelfe; Which Act being leſſe noble than the other, is called by Divines, *Imperfect Contrition.* To the firſt of theſe Griefs we are alwayes earneſtly advisd by our Directors, and Paſtors, as a *Grace*, that lead's us the ſtreight and ready way to Heaven; yet nevertheleſſe we look upon the ſecond, I meane *Attrition*, as a gift & impulſe of the *holy Ghoſt*, able with the *Sacraments* to reconcile us to our heavenly *Father.* Rewards and Punishments are often mentioned in ſcripture we know; & *Chriſt* and his holy *Apoſtles* after ſeveral Repetitions of them has made us innumerable Exhortations; & given us infinit Hints *To be wiſe, To conſider our condition, & end, that at leaſt for our own ſakes we may avoid the Wrath to come*; the dread and apprehenſion of which is all that the Divines meane by *Attrition.* Is not the Doctor's violence then againſt our aſſerting, *That this ſort of ſorrow for ſin may (as is mentioned) reconcile us to God*; not only extravagant in it ſelfe, but enough alſo to make all his own Flock and Auditory fall into the utmoſt *Deſpair*? For which of them can be certain in his greateſt *Contrition* and pureſt *Act of Love* to

God,

God, but that the *Motive* of it; or the *Motive* of that *Motive*, or perchance the immediate *Motive* before this, proceeded (as far as it lyes in us) *from the desire of the Joyes of Heaven, or feare of eternal Punishment*; & if so, (according to the inference of this their Guid's *Doctrine*) they are in a most *dangerous Condition*; seing the *Superstructure can never be safe, that is built on an ill Fundation.*

This must needs follow then frō the *Doctor's Divinity*; & where is the harme of our *Tenet*; or in truth what man is there (as I said) that for all his pretences (if he beleeves a Heaven) agree's not with us herein; viz: That God having told us of the Rewards that follow a good life, & the punishment that accompanies a bad one, will by virtue of his *Son's Sacraments*, which confer *Grace*, & more particularly apply his *Merits* to us, recieve a *prodigal Child* into Favour, though the Paines of *Hell*, & the Joyes of *Heaven* were the cause of his Returne & Sorrow. Our *Saviour* tells us, *That in his Father's Kingdom there are many Mansions*; & *St. Paul*, *That one Star excell's another in Glory*, & therfor those *Contrite* & more noble Souls (for what is so noble as to

love God for himselfe) will infinitly outshine them that have been only *Attrite*. This makes us then with all Zeal, & Earnestnesse imaginable, hearten & incite every body to the persuit of this perfect & sole Love of our Creator; but yet we dare not altogether exclude selfe Interest out of Heaven ; for if we should, how few are there, that (having fully & truely examin'd their Consciences & *Motives*) could then hope for Salvation ?

But Dr. *Stillingfleets* drift is perchãce only to make a noise, which he fancies can be no wayes better done than by false representing an *Opinion* ; knowing that every *Author* that then assert's it, makes the errour appeare more ridiculous and condemnable. In this manner has he serv'd us at present, for having with the *Confidence* (I have show'd you) falsy stated *Attrition*, He immediatly cites several of our *Divines*, who tell us *That this Act is sufficient with Penance to bring us to Favour* ; & others affirming *Contrition not absolutly necessary* ; all which would be impiously horred , if *Attrition* included not a full purpose of sinning no more. And pray Reader let me again remember you (because in this consistes much

of

of the *Doctor's* foul Play) That when we ſay. *Contrition is not neceſsary* 'tis not meant, That we diſapprove of it (for *Contrition*, as I already mention'd is the higheſt Act of Piety) but that if a poor ſinner has not attaind to this great Grace, he may yet with Attrition hope for Mercy.

But as one Abſurdity draw's on another, ſo one piece of *Confidence* dos the like; & truly were not the *Doctor* guilty of this in the higheſt Degree, he would not have maintained, *That Popery is a hinderance to a good life.* I ſay, guilty in the higheſt Degree, ſince he impoſe's not only on the *Reaſon* of his *Readers*, but on their *Senſes* alſo; For who is there that know's not, that in the *Catholique Religion* he may heare of mighty *Princes* & *Monarcks* (who once thought whole *Kingdomes* too ſtreight & little for them) leaving *Scepters*, *Crowns*, & *Palaces*, & contenting themſelves perchance with a little *Cell*, having found by reaſon of their *Inclinations* & *Temper*, that they could thus better ſerve their Supreme *Lord* & *Maſter*.

Here we ſhall finde great *Generals* & *Captains* (who being made ſenſible that after all their *Victories*, they were notwithſtanding

Cowards & *Captives* to their own *Lusts* & *Passions*,) turning presently their Fury upon the new discoverd Enemy, & retiring to some *Desart* or *By-place*, there to begin a cruel cõbat, never to be left of, 'till by his Assistance (for whom they fought) they became at last *more than Conquerors*.

Here we shall see a delicat *Courtier*, (*clad in soft cloathing every day*, & abounding in all the excesse imaginable) awakend on a sudden out of his sensual *Lethargy*, & then instead of his accustomed indulging each Passion, & thinking he never had Attendance enough, we shall hear that he is become *servant* of the most *Abject*, and that his dwelling is [illegible] in *Lazarettos*, *Pesthouses*, & the like *loathsome* places, feeding sometimes corporally, & sometimes *spiritually* the *Sick*; no service being wav'd by him, whether it be to dresse their corrupt & stinking wounds, or to recieve their last infected breath, whilst he heares their *Confessions*, & prepares them for another *World*.

Here we shall see a rich & griping *Merchant*, that (*having added House to House & Field to Field for many yeares*) opening in the end his eyes, *& selling all that he has* (*for the comfort of the poor & needy*) to purchase that inestimable *Jewel* so often recommended

to

to him by his Saviour; & so with incessant & inexpressible labours *lays up a real & certain Treasure* in Heaven, *where neither Moth nor Rust* doth corrupt, *nor Thieves can break through & steale.*

Here we shall have a lewd woman (a *Lais* or *Messalina*) that own's no *God* but Pleasure; that has abãdon'd *Honour* for a few flattering words & cringes; that dream's of nothing but *Dressing*, *Balls*, *Feasting*, *Gardens of delight*, & in short, of what can seem to satisfie her unsatiable Appetite & Desires. I say here we shall have such a one (wounded to the soul in the very height of her Glory by the Remonstrance of some holy Man) throwing into the Fire *her Chaines*, *her Bracelets*, *her tinkling Ornaments*, *her changeable apparrel*, *her Wimples*, *her crisping pins*, *her glasses*, *her fine linnen*, & all the other supports of Womens vanity, describd so fully by *Isaiah*. Nor rest's this *Magdalen* thus, but taking *hair-cloth* for her attire; & a sharpe *Discipline* for her Companion, call's her selfe often to an account for her past abominations, & with *Bread & Water*, or a poor *Clarisse's* diet, dayly blesses her mercifull *Father*, that she has yet time to repent.

But what should I trouble my selfe with the Repetition of Cases so frequent in our

Church, or with insisting lōger on this Subject, when there is no *English Traveller* but will affirme, that in any one *Popish Town* of our Neighborhood (as in *Paris*, *Gant*, *Antwerp*, *Liege*, *&c.*) there is more *Praying*, more *Recieving*, more *Fasting*, more *Watching*, more *Disciplining*, more *Almes-giving*, more *Visiting of Prisoners*, more *exposing in time of Infection*, & in short more of any thing elſe, that either *Revelation* or humane *Reaſon* call's *Piety*, than in all the *Protestant Countries*, they ever ſaw in their Lives. Had Bp: *Hall* had ſucceſſe in his *Quo vadis*, which he wrot againſt the Travelling of the young Nobility and Gentry of our Nation; for the good man well knew that all that had been ſaid in the Pulpit at home, would then be ſoon found quite otherwiſe; I ſay had this Prelate ſucceeded in his Project, *Dr. Stillingfleet* perchance might have had ſome hopes of being believed; & yet for all this he would have miſt his aime, ſince the ſtill remaining *Monuments* (in ſpight of *Reformation* it ſelfe) of our *Forefather's Piety and Devotion*, would have been ſo many Witneſſes againſt him. Nay the very *Poets* of his own *Religion* (who though they generally lead not the beſt lives themſelves, yet know beſt how

how to describe one) would have accus'd him of the greatest Untruth imaginable; for did ever any of these sublime Witts, when they are to represent a holy and heavenly man, speak of a *Minister* or bring him on the Stage? No certainly! for 'tis his part to be there we see, if they intend to make the Auditory merry; but when they come to expresse *Sanctity* and *Devotion* in it's greatest Lustre and height, we shall then hear of nothing but of *Anchorites*, of *Hermites*, of *Capuchins*, of *Carthusians*, or some such *mortified* and *Religious* men. Yet if the *Dr.* will appeale from *Parnassus*, I shall desire to know of him, what *Religion*, he thinks, *those Empereſſes* & *Queens* were, (mentiond by the famous Author of *the Whole Duty of Man* with such high praise & veneration) *who have often exchanged* (he[a] sayes) *their Palaces, for little Cells & Oratories, & valued not their Diadems in comparison with their Saviours Crown of Thornes.* Nay since the *Doctor* will have *Popery* so destructive, & his own *Religion* so conducing to a *good Life*, I defie him & my *Adversary* also, to show me one *Conversion* or *Mortification* in his Church, that would move the least wonder in any man; when as *the Primitive Christians* struck

[a] *Preface of the Lady's calling.*

struck the very Infidels with admiration & astonishment, by their heroique & pious Actions; most of which have bin equal'd in every age by their succeding *Catholique Brethren*, & some times also out done, as appeares by the eminent & authentique Writers of those times. Let the World then judge what fools the *Doctor* would fain make of his *Readers*, if he endeavours (even in things that occurre to sense) to perswade them to distrust their own Eyes & Eares, & to believe a few vain words & notions; & those too so extravagant & wilde, that even *Sr. Edwin Sands* cannot but give in evidence against them, who sayes, [a] *Let Protestants look with the eye of Charity upon Papists, as well as of severity, & they shall finde in them some excellent orders for Government, some singular helps for an encrease of Godlinesse and Devotion, for the conquering of sin, & for the perfecting of Virtue; And contrariwise in themselves (looking with a more single & lesse indulgent eye than they do) they shall find, that there is no such absolute or unreprovable Perfection in their Doctrine & Reformation, as some Dreamers in the pleasing view of their own Actions fancy.* Thus writs our profest & sworne Enemy, & if he cannot but ack-

[a] *Survey* p. 210.

acknowlege such Excellences in *Popery*; what must there be really in it? Enough then at present of the Doctor's *Confidence*, & now let us hasten to his *Untruth* which is his last charge against me.

As for this I have instances enough (omitting the rest of his Adversaries Accusations) even out of *T. G.* who has showd in his excellent *Answer* to the *Doctor's Charge of Idolatry*, how falsy he has cited *Trigautius*, *Bellarmine*, *Baronius*, *&c.* but to the end He may oblige me hereafter to put down the Particulars at large, as he has already forced me to repeat the Arguments against the Bp: of *Angelopolis*, I will insist only at present (having been already longer than I intended) upon his new Quotation out of *Valentia*, concerning *Contrition*, & his citing *Mr. White* (a notorious *Jesuite* of the *Sieur du Moulins* creation) with so much formality and seriousnesse. And truly I thinke my selfe the more concerned in both these wilfull Errors; because that of *Contrition* belongs to my last Argument, & committed by him in the very[a] *Preface* wher he charges me of *Untruth*; & as for the other, to wit his bringing *Mr. Whit's* Authority upon the stage, I must need's deeme it a strange per-

[a] *Vid: General Preface as aforesaid.*

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severing in ill, seing I heretofore reprehended (as he knows) some of the chief *Champions* of his *Religion* for offering to mention a man, *whose extravagant Workes, have been both privatly & publickly condemned by the Pope himselfe. Untruth, & Falsity*, I call this in a very high measure, because the intent of the *Action* is only to cousin the *Reader*, who is (as 'tis hop'd) to look upon the Author as an Authentique Witnesse, for otherwise the citation is insignificant, loosing all it's force and Power. And thus candid *Dr. Sillingfleet* deal's with us in this Booke; for resolving to put the businesse of *Honorius* with a killing blow out of all further controversy and dispute, [a] *He Concludes with the ingenious Confession* (as he ingeniously call's it) *of Mr. White* a censur'd man, who (as he pretends) agrees in his *Tabulæ suffragiales* with him therein.

[a] *Dr. Stil: ib. p. 171.*

Now concerning *Valentia* the Dr. sayes thus in his said Preface; *But above all of them* (meaning our Casuists & Schoolmen) *commend me to Gregory de Valentia, who not only makes Contrition unnecessary, but saith it is rather a hinderance to the effect of the Sacrament.* These beeing the Doctor's words, who would not at the first dash look on this *Jesuite* as the

the greateſt Blaſphemer in the World; when as there is nothing but Truth in his Doctrine, & a demonſtration of the great & wonderfull Power of *Contrition.* For it being able to reſuſcitate & quicken a dead Soul (which is the primary effect of the *Sacraments* of *Penance* and *Baptiſme*) it dos then by Anticipation hinder their effects, in having already done (as to the reviving part) what they were otherwiſe to do; & therfore ſince by the Mercy of God, *Attrition* is ſufficient to diſpoſe us for the effectual recieving of theſe Sacramẽts,[a] *Valentia ſayes, that he that enjoin's Contrition as abſolutly neceſſary to this end* (viz: to the raiſing a ſinner to life) *would be as abſurd as a Phiſitian, that will not ſuffer his Patient to take his medecine, till he has endeavourd firſt without Phiſic to rid himſelfe of his Diſeaſe, and believes alſo he has done it.* This is the Opinion of this famous Divine, & point blank contrary to the Doctor's inſinuation, which was to perſwade us, as if he were ſo great an Enemy to *Contrition*, that he held it even vitiated or invalidated the Sacraments; when as his meaning is only, as you ſee, *That two infallible vivifying medecines cannot be abſolutly, or in themſelves neceſſary at the ſame time.* Nor does he

[a] *Tom. 4. diſp. 7. q. 8. pun: 4. ſect. ſecundo poteſt.*

faile to exhort us (as every Confessor do's) to use them together, & to let them alwayes go hand in hand; for all Divines will have it, *That though we should be revived by Contrition* (& truly by the way pure Contrition is not so easily known) *yet all Sacraments by the Grace that attends them, corroborate and hinder relapsing into our former errors and misdeeds.* Besides Reader, you must remmember (which is the common fallacy, and disingenious imposition of our *Protestant Writers*) that there is an infinite difference between a Divine, when in the Chair he determines what may be *Sufficient* & what not, & when he comes to advise his *Penitent how he must serve God.* And after this manner it happens too with the very Sages of our Common Law; for though my *Lord Keeper*, my *Lord chief Justice*, & the rest of the *Learned Judges* may both in words and writing declare, *That passive Obedience is enough to protect us from all legal Penalties*, yet he ought to be deemd a false and ill man that would therefor inferre, That they are against *Active Obedience*; a thing which every body know's in their *Council* and *Advice* they perswade all Subjects to. Be pleas'd therfor Reader to tell me now if the *Doctor*

be

be not guilty of Deceit and *Untruth*; and truely were it my buſineſſe to purſue him, I could make many more diſcoveries of this Nature.

How carefull then ought all men to be in taking nothing upon truſt; nor have Proteſtants now leſſe Reaſon to examine what they heare than their Fathers formerly, who were very diffident, as *Gondemore* obſerved in one of his witty Letters to *Olivarez*. For he there told him, *That being out of curioſity once with King James at Chappel, he perceived the Auditory extremely attentive to their Miniſter, yet nevertheleſſe they would not (he found) truſt him a Whit; for no ſooner had he cited a place of Scripture, but they all ran to their Bibles to ſee whether it were ſo or no.* In this manner I hope the Doctor's Readers will alſo do; and I am ſure 'tis very neceſſary, unleſſe they deſire to be decieved; nor ſhall they want helps for the Diſcovery of his Artifices, ſince through his ſtrange ſcurrility & boaſting (which become not a man of parts) he has provok'd thoſe to it, who will (I'l warrant him) finde him now worke enough. So kiſſing his hands at preſent, I muſt bid him Adieu in his own Farewell to me viz: *That I leave this ingenious Author to*

be

be chastis'd for these & his other extravagancies by his Worthy Adversaries, & now returne to my own.

XII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

'Twas never heard of before, that an absolute Queen was condemned by Subjects, & those stiled her Peers; or that a King was publicly tryed & executed by his own People & servants.

12. Answer.

Here he sayes, *That the* Queen of Scots *was beheaded under* Q. Elizabeth *by the same colour of right, that* Wallis *sufferd under* Edward the 1. (*whom I call, he sayes, a brave* Prince) *namely that of* Soveraignty, *which our* Princes *challeng'd over* Scotland: *but that* K. James, *&* K. Charles *never imputed this to* Qu: Elizabeths *Religion. Concerning King Charles's murther, he sayes that I would take it ill, a* Turk *should charge the* Protestant *faults upon me; but I do worse than a* Turk, *in charging these semens faults upon the* Protestants; *for the Murtherers were neither then, nor since of my Adversary's Communion.* King Charles *he sayes, profess't he died for the Protestant Relio-*

Religion, & Laws of the Land; & that also in his letter to the Prince *he declares, that none of the Rebels were Professors or Practicers of the Church of England, which gives no such Rules.*

12. *Reply.*

Nay now I have quite given over my *Adversary*; for though he had no regard of himselfe, methinks he might have had more respect for our *King*, than to parallel his *Grand mother* with *Wallis*. You must know, *Reader*, *Edward the first* having by his valour conquer'd *Scotland*, & made the *Nobles* swear Fealty to him, when all things were quiet there, up starts this *Wallis*, *a* [a] *poor private Gentleman*, as *Daniel* calls him; who though he had distressed the English a while, yet never so much as once pretended to the *Crown*; at last in spight of his Endeavours for his Countrye's Liberty, *he was betrayed to the English*, & *drawn*, *hang'd & quarter'd at London*, as the same [b] *Author* has it. Is this man then a fit parallel for *Mary Stuart*, owned not only as *Queen of Scots* abroad, but by *Queen Elizabeth* her selfe also, who often sent & recieved *Ambassadours* from her with the same state

[a] *Dan. Edw. 1.* 166.

[b] p. 168.

State as was used to the *Kings of France*, *Spaine*, or any other *Potentate*. What our two last Monarcks thought of the action, I know not; but this I am certain of, that *King James* his coolneſſe, tended neither to his own *honour*, nor the *Safety* of his Poſterity.

Concerning the other part of his *Anſwer*, I never charged the *Kings* murther on any body but thoſe that were the Authors of it; He knows beſt whether he was one of them or no; but this I am ſure of, he can calumniat, (or to uſe *Harriſon's* own words) *Blacken* as well as the beſt of them, as may be ſeen all along & ſpecially in the next Section. I do veryly believe alſo that *King Charles died a Proteſtant*, & I am ſo far from laying any crime on the *Cavaliers of that Religion*, that I thinke them as brave & worthy *Gentlemen* as any Nation beares.

As for *the Loyalty of all the Profeſſors and Practicers of the Church of England*, I have already plainly demonſtrated that ſeveral of the great ones were up to the ears in the *Rebellion* againſt a *Charles the firſt*, & *ſecond*; nay if my *Adverſary* be a real Member of that *Church*, & that his Teſtimony & Inference be of force, I have then clearly show'd, *that the very*

a *Vid. Rep. p. 96.*

Re-

Regicides were also of his Communion but it is enough for my purpose, *that they, & all the rest of the Rebels were Protestants*, & so the King calls them often in his most Elegant Book, even where he speak's of our Duty & Service. *I am sorry* (sayes he) *That the Papists should have a greater sence of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professors*; & yet notwithstanding this gratious Declaration, my *Adversary* would have the World believe (if it were possible) that we surpasse all People in disloyalty and wickedness.

a Vid. Rep. p. 75.

b Eik. Bas. ch. 15. p. 90.

XIII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

My Lords and Gentlemen, We know who were the Authors of this last abomination, and how generously you strove against the raging torrent; nor have we any other ends to remember you of it, but to show that all Religions may have a corrupted spawn; and that God hath been pleased to permit such a Rebellion, which our Progenitors never saw, to convince you perchance (whom for ever may he prosper) that Popery is not the only source of Treason.

13. Answer.

Here (since we do know who were the Authors of the Abomination) he desires

us to be plain, for he thinks I have spoken more truth then everyman is aware of. Cardinal Richelieu, *he says, began the Rebellion in* Scotland: *then it broke out in* Ireland, *blest with his Holiness's Letters and Nuntio: Lastly,* England *we unsettled, by giving occasion of jealousies, which the* Phanaticks *made use of for their purposes; & that* Charls 1. *observes in his large Declaration concerning the Tumults in* Scotland, *That those Rebells were the same with the* Jesuits, *their sermons beeing in the Phrase of* Becanus, Schoppius *&* Eu: Johannes, *& their Seditious* Pamphelets *out of* Bellarmin *&* Suarez. *Besides all this, he says, the Murther of the late King was also agreed on in the Councels of our Clergy; and therefore in vain could the Royallists resist the raging Torrent.*

13. *Reply.*

Lord, what blasphemies are here! and what a heap of unsorted calumnies are there put together, without any probability or proof! Because *Richelieu* a great Minister of State (who intrigued in every Nation) is supposed to have dealt with the *Presbyterians* of *Scotland*, *Ergo* the *Papists* of *England* were the cause of the *Rebellion*. This is rare Logick, especially when

when he himselfe know's, that fire and water agreed better then those Saints and we. How many times more *Turk* would my Adversary have call'd me, than he has already done, had I made such a *Syllogisme*: yet to show him how much I admire his Art, I'l try to make one in the same *Mood* & *Figure*. *Luther* by his commotions in *Germany*, & by hindring his Partizans to helpe *Charles the* 5; for we finde him in his owne Writings openly crying, [a] *He that has eares to heare, let him heare, & abstaine from the Turkish war, whilst the Popes name prevaileth under Heaven*; & by these & the like meanes, (of which *Mr. Brereley* has a hundred particulars in his [b] *Protestant Apology*) this *Patriarch* was so beneficial to the *Infidels* in their War of *Hungary*, & other places, *That the then Grand Seigniour* (which was Solyman the Magnificent) ask't *our Christian Ambassador* (as [c] *Manlius Luthers* own Scholar relates) *how old he was, & wisht him younger, promissing to be his good Lord.* I say because *Luther* did this & many more such abominations, therfor the Church of *England* is the cause of the *Turks* Progresse & Successe in *Christendom*. I am sure this is as good a consequence as that of *Scotland* against us,

[a] *Luth. expl. art.* 34.

[b] *Prot. Apol. p.* 383.

[c] *Man. loc. com. p.* 636.

& *when it shall be once ripe for a History*, I doubt not but my *Adversary*, or at least the *Sieur du Moulin* will lay to our charge the late dangerous protestant Rebellion there, to wit in the yeare 1666, whilst we were in war, both with the *French* & *Dutch*. But enough of this matter, which is so ridiculous, that I should wrong my selfe, if I made more words about it: nor dos
ap. 146 that great Antipapist [a]H: *L'Estrange* in his *Reigne of Charles the first* scruple to write *That the Liturgy* (or Common Prayer) *was the original of the Scottish troubles*; nay the said Author tell's us also a thing of no great cre-
b Ib. dit to the *Clergy*, [b] *That the King gave Directions to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bish: of Ely, & to divers Bishop's of that Kingdome, to revise & correct as they pleas'd the Lyturgy compil'd in his father King James's time, & that this Service-Book so alter'd, & little differing (as he was unhappily perswaded by them) from the English, He sent to the Council of Scotland, ordering them to proclaim the Reading it, &c*; & thus we may see (by the testimony, of this son of the Church) whether [illegible] the *Papists* or the *unhappy Perswasion* (as he call's it) of the *English Clergy* [illegible] caus'd those troubles.

In the next place, if the flame breake's out in

in *Ireland*, (which *Heath a Protestant* Historian [a] sayes *can be noe where more imputable, than to the Parliament's unwarrantable procedure against my Lord Strafford*) we in *England* are again the cause of it; so that if forraign *Catholicks*, or forraign Protestants Rebel, still we must be the *Authors*, that never had any correspondence with either of these Nations, nor have to this day, as all the World sees.

[a] *Heath* p. 36.

Thirdly, For *the Popes Blessing the Irish Rebellion*, tis so far from truth, that as soon as he was inform'd what had really pass'd in that Kingdom, & that his *Nuntio* had given offence, he recal'd him, & sent him to his *Bishoprick*, where he liv'd, to his dying day, in disgrace, & never had the least preferment afterwards. Nor do any of our Enemies in any of their Books speake of the least *Benediction*, or *Breve* to *Oneal* or his Complices, till towards the latter end of the yeare 1642. (& of this also they have no proof) which was long after the *Parliament* had declared war against the *King*, & that the Irish Rebels had promis'd to assist his Majesty, as no Protestant can deny but they did in both his *Kingdoms*. Nay they pretended (for the better colouring their ill Actions) to

the Pope & neighbouring Princes, that they had the King's privat Orders to be in Armes, & that the blood & exceſſe was accidentally comitted by the ſuddain Fury of ſome injurd Natives; but the *Engliſh Rebels* (who were ever excellent in improving of any Story) lay'd the whole maſſacre & Irish diſorders at his *Majeſties dore*, of which he greviously complain's in his *Book*, as I[a] ſaid before in the firſt *Reply*, where the buſineſſe of this *Rebellion* is ſo fully hādled.

[a] *Vid. Rep. p. 64.*

Laſtly, for *England*, he urges we were the occaſion of jealouſies, which made the War. O *ridiculous vanity*! If the majority of both Houſes conſpire againſt the King, ſuggeſt in open Debates fears of their own hatching, and at the ſame time with all violence perſecute Papiſts, yet we are to be blamed, and are cauſers of the Commotions. Certainly this is like him *that curſed my Lord Clarindon, becauſe his horſe ſtumbled*: for nothing can happen now a dayes ill in *England*, but that the *Prime Miniſters* of ſtate, or the Papiſts are the occaſion of it. I am ſure many grave men of your Coat Sr, ingeniouſly confeſt, that it was the *Tranſlation of the Bible*, or the too frequent reading of it by the ignorant (which is a conſequence of the Tranſlation) that caus'd our diſorders. And Pray *Reader* con-

consider my *Adversary's* Malice; for had it not exceeded all bounds, he would have told you, *That the Non-conformists took root as soon as the* Reformation: *That* Queen *Elizabeths prudence kept them a little down: That in* King *James his Reign, they grew much stronger; and that great Statesmen have often blamed that* Prince, *because (to keep things quiet in his Regin) he occasioned the Tide to rush in with such irresistable force in our late unhappy times.* And because this storme was lõg foreseen by all knowing Pilots, let us heare what an Historian (speaking of *K. Iames*) reckons the cause of it to be, „ [a] Between this „ disaffection (says H. L.) & contempt in his „ People, there was generated a general dis- „ position to turbulent & boysterous da- „ rings, & expostulations, even against „ his darling Prerogative; And though „ those dismal Calamities which befell his „ son, were doubtlesse ampliated by a su- „ perfetation of Causes, yet was their first „ & main existency derivative from those „ seminalities. *Let Court-pens extol the „ calmnesse of his Halcyonian reign with all „ Artifice of Rhetorique, yet can they never „ deny but that admired serenity had its set in „ a cloud, & that he left to his Successor „ both an empty Purse & Crown of „ Thornes.*

[a] *H: L. Reigne K. Ch. 1. p. 6.*

So

So much then for the cause of our late civil Broils & confusions; and I hope shortly my *Adversary* will call every *Dedimus Potestatem*, *Sub pœna*, or *Writ* that come's out of the *Courts* of Judicature a letter written, or at least endited by his Majesty himselfe; for here we find he urges against us some by-Expressions in the *Scotch Declaration* (which is a thick *Folio*) as if the *King* had pen'd it with his own hand. 'Tis well known the Product of whose zealous labours it was, & yet no man is bound to take for granted every Charge in a public *Edict*; for if so, what strange Monsters were all the primitive *Christians*, who wanted not we may be sure (were *History* silent) a Character from their Persecutors answerable to the punishments & cruel torments they suffer'd. Besides *Reader* the *Author* of this *Declaration* was troubled, I finde, with my *Adversarys* disease, viz: an unhappinesse in his Examples; *for the Scotch Rebels might very well have their Sermons in the Phrase of* [a] *Schoppius* & [b] *Becanus*, without the least reproach to *Catholiques*, these Writers having been condemn'd *by the Parliament* at *Paris*, by *the Faculty of Divinity*, & *the last of them by the Pope also*, as *DeSerres* a Reformd Historian acknowleges.

But would not a man now think my Ad-

a *DeSer. Anno* 1612 *p.* 1196.

b *Ib. p.* 1199.

Adversary had abused us sufficiently? No, he must yet go farther, even *That the King's death was agreed to in the Councels of our Clergy*. Doubtelesse he cannot mean our *Priests* by the word, for what did their aggreing signifie more, then if the Mayor of *Quinborough* and his Brethren would agree, that the *Janizaries* should strangle the *Grand Seignior*? Had our *Priests* any power in *England*? Were they not forced to skulk a ways in holes, and executed as often as taken? I am sure [a] *twenty were hang'd drawn & quarter'd* [a] 2d. *by them*, & *several died in prison*, as the *Moderator* shows us. But now I remember my self, my Adversary pretends to be skilled in Rhetorick, and perchance he uses a *Trope* of his own making; to wit, That because two Negatives make an affirmative, or a thing contrary to themselves; therefore his four falsities (in this one Section) shall dubb an irrefragable truth opposite to each single assertion. His meaning then it seems is this, That instead of our being false to the State, *We have been most intirely faithfull to our King and Country*. *Moderator* p. 12

Good *Reader*, I must ask you pardon for saying any thing against these idle and groundless cavils; seeing the whole World knows, that never men were more earnestly Loyal then we. Beware therefore

of

of such an Accuser, for they were of the like Principles, that (out of malice against the late King) wickedly divulged, *That his Majesty had under hand caused the Irish massacre, that he had a mind to bring in Popery, and to enslave the Nation, had sent for an Outlandish Guard &c.* Thus cried the *English* Rebels against their glorious Prince, and thus are we injur'd by my *Adversary*, who now invents Stories to mischief, if he can, his innocent fellow Subjects and Countrymen. But who can be guiltless, if assertions without any shadow of proof shall be recieved against him?

XIV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Little did we think (when your Prayers and ours were offered up to beg a blessing on the King's affairs) ever to see that day, in which *Carlos, Gifford, Whitgrave*, and the *Pendrels* should be punished by our desires for that Religion, which obliged them to save their forlorn Prince: and a stigmatized man for his offences against King and Church, a chief promoter of it. Nay less did we imagine that by your Votes *Hudleston* might be hanged, who again secured our Soveraign, and others free in their fat possessions, that sat as Judges, and sealed the Execution of that great Prince of happy Memory.

14. Answer.

He says, that many of my Church were not

of

of my Party; and that some of them did the King eminent service in the Critical day of danger, & so did the Protestants too: therefore it is not to be ascribed to our Religion. Nor is it reasonable to requite particular men, by abandoning those Laws, which secure us against as great a danger. 'Tis barbarity for any Christian (but those of our Sect) to question his life that exposed it for his Prince, or to do this in any age, except Queen Maries; *for then Sir* Nich. Throgmorton *was so dealt with, as Doleman has it: but my Adversary detests he says such times and such examples; and he knows the King will reward deserving persons without trespassing on his Laws. Lastly for the stigmatized man (whom I do not hate, he knows, for his offences) he desires me to be favourable to him because the King whom he formerly displeased bears with him: for he contributed much against the Phanaticks to his Majesties restauration, and would not willingly live to see the Pope turn him out again.*

14. *Reply.*

What is the meaning of this distinction, *That many of my Church were not of my Party?* Have we not been all of the same Party, or can there be named a Papist that

that was not for the King, even in the worst of times? But, Good Sir, have you all this while cut our throats, and do you now come with your flatterie, *That there were some eminent among us for Loyalty*? Did I ever say otherwise, then that the Protestants were to be honoured for their wonderful service to the King? Was not the *Apology* directed to them? and have I not always declared, that his Majesty is as much indebted to them, as ever Prince was to Subjects? Certainly, 'tis no lessning of their worth, because we did our endeavours, and have been fellowsufferrers with them in that Glorious Quarrel. I never prest in the *Apology* to have any particular body exempted; for I only say there, that once we little thought the Protestant Cavaleers, would ever have consented to our punishment & consequently to their's who preserv'd the King at Worcester. Yet, Sir (with your permission) it were not so unreasonable neither, as you would have it, to suspend the Laws against a Party for the service of a few. You have read, I know, the Scripture, and therefore may remember *Mordecay's* case, who *by saving the King's life, not only preserved himself and his Nation from Ruine*, but *obtained also honour and freedom*

freedom for them all.

But what do you drive at by *Throgmortons* usage? Has *Doleman* (an Author disown'd by all Catholiks) more credit with you, then your owne Protestant Historians? For there are none of them, that mention the least service done the *Queen* by this Knight: Nay [a] *Holinshed* has all the particulars of his 10. houres *Trial* (which *John Lilburn* afterwards copied out to the life) where no wranglinge evasion is omitted, and certainly it had been then a fit time to urge merits, had he had any. [a] *Hol.* p. 1104.

But let us suppose him as eminent & faithfull as *Bedingfield*, *Fernigham*, or any other; must that excuse a man from being tried according to the Lawes of the Land when new Treason is lay'd to his charge? For Reader you must know, [b] *Stow*, [c] *Speed*, [d] *Holinshed* & all our *Protestant Historians* agree in this. *That he was accus'd of Conspiracies with Wiat, & that being try'd for it at the old Bayly, he was acquitted by his Jury.* Why Sr. had he done the Queen never so particular a service, the example is so wide from the marke, that we earnestly desire in the *Apology* (upon the least offence against the State) *that the transgressors may die without Mercy*; & this I'l be bound that *Col: Carlos*, *Mr. Hudleston*, or any of those loyal [b] *Stow's Q. M. Anno* 1554. p. 624. [c] *Speed*, p. 847. [d] *Hol:* p. 1104

&

& brave men shall willingly subscribe to.

Now for *the Stigmatized man*, I finde Sr you pretend to be very well acquainted with his Actions: If he has done any thing; (which every body knows was but a little scribling, & not to the hundreth part of his Transgressions) God be thanked for the Grace given him to do the King at length service; but I am sure if he had really meant well; he would never have promoted the harassing of a faithfull Party, till he found them machinating against their Prince. I have no particular spleen to any man, yet cannot look on those, either as men of wit or honesty, *who needlesly disoblige, and who strive with violence to have Christians persecuted for Religion, when as they themselves are the first that rail against all mankind, if their own Consciences be touchd, though it be by the establisht Laws of the Nation.* And here *Reader* I must desire you to consider a little the Candor of our *Adversarys*, who never commend or blame according to the Justice of the matter, but as their Inclination & Interest lead's them; for formerly when they found, that this man & his Party lay heavy upon them, *then He deserv'd* (they thought) the *Pilory, Fining, Branding, Imprisonment*, & all the ill usage

on this side Death, that either the *spiritual* or *civil* Courts could inflict upon him; nay they seemed so far to acknowlege *Popery* more for the good of the King & Kingdom than his *Religion*, That both *He* & his *Associats*, constantly declar'd to this effect, (as I already [a]showd you) *that for opposing the Papists they suffer'd*, & *that their Persecution was first consulted & & agitated by the Jesuits.* But now our said *Adversarys* finding that he had spitten his venom, & being without a sting might perchance be of some use, or at least of no danger, presently their fury & choler rises against *Popery*, & who but the *Stigmatiz'd man* with them; So that he is not only prais'd & defended by my *Adversary*, the *Sieur du Moulin* & God knows how many more, but the Catholiques at the same time must be calumniated & vilified, though they have done all the great & loyal Actions imaginable, for the service of their Prince & Countrey.

[a] *vid.* *Rep.* 3. p. 76. 1

XV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We confesse, we are unfortunate, and you just Judges, whom with our lives we will ever maintain to be so; nor are we ignorant that the necessity of affairs made the King and you do things, which formerly you could

not

not so much as fancy: yet give us leave to say we are still Loyal; nay, to desire you to believe us so, and to remember how *synonymous* (under the late Rebellion) was the word *Papist* and *Cavalier*; for there was no Papist that was not deemed a Cavalier, nor no Cavalier that was not called a Papist, or at least thought to be Popishly affected.

15. Answer.

He will he sayes passe over our fawning on the Parliament, and commending our selves, and believe us, as we did the Sectaries that called the Cavaliers Papists. He wonders why these Royallists should be termed Popishly affected: but if the Papists were judged Cavaliers, they afterwards were ashamed of it. In Ireland *whole Armies were up against the King, In* England *some came in voluntarily to serve him, but more were* hunted into Garrisons, *by them that knew we should bring his Majesty little help & much hatred; & that a great part of us that fought for him when his fortunes stood, fell of when he declined. Then he asks us, where we were from that time forward, in all those weak efforts of* gasping *Loyalty? We were flattering, he sayes, and giving sugered words to the Rebels, as now we do to the Royallists: for we addrest our Petitions.* To the Supream Authority of the Nation

a second Moderator.

b 1647. 1656. 1659.

Nation, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: *& affirm'd that we had generally taken, and punctually kept the engagement: We promist if we might enjoy our Religion, we would be the most quiet and useful Subjects of* England; *& we proved it in these words.* [a] The Papists of *England* would be bound by their interest to live peacefully and thankfully in the exercise of their Conscience; and becoming gainers by such compassions, they could not be so reasonably distrusted, as the Prelatick Party that were loosers. To this he add's, *that we farther proved it by real testimonies, which he has no pleasure in remembering, nor we in hearing; & that they were too lately done to be talk't of. Now if after all this we were deemed Cavaliers, we were much wronged, & the only right he can do us is not to beleeve it.*

[a] *First Moderator.*

15. *Reply.*

Pray Good Sir, speak truth, and you will shame no body but your self: & if you disown a thing apparent to all men, how will you then cavil, at what is only known to the Wise? was ever any thing more evident, than that *the Rebels deemed all Papists Cavaliers,*

and all Cavaliers, Papists? I do not infer that therefore all Cavaliers were Papists, only I say, they were generally so called; nor is any body ignorant, that the reason was, to make them more hated by the people, as by your false glosses you would at this instant serve us.

Concerning our frankneſſe to ſerve the King, it is ſo fully treated in the *Preface*, that no truth was ever more plainly made manifeſt. But why do you ask where we were in all thoſe weak efforts of gaſping Loyalty? Were not we where the reſt of the Royal party were? *Some of us were in London, ſome with the King, ſome about diſpatches, ſome in the Tower, ſome ſold to the Iſlands, and in fine, was there any Plot but the Catholicks were as numerous in it proportionably as any other Subjects?* Had ever man the Confidence to deny this, nay to adde, *That we were flattering the Rebels with Addreſſes, and owning them the Supream Power of the Nation,* & the like? but leſt this frivolous accuſation ſhould be a ſtumbling-block to the weak, I will ſay ſomething to it.

After the Rebels had trampled down Monarchy, and enſlaved the whole Kingdom; it happend that a Lay Gentleman

leman (esteemed alwayes of much wit and integrity) thought it would not disoblige the Catholiques, or any body else, if he stickled a little for a private Toleration, seeing the then Ruling Grandees pretended to be against persecution for Conscience. The Protestant Cavaliers had many Congregations at *London*, which the constancy and courage of Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Thriscross*, &c (with some sugar'd words also) forc'd the Rebel to a kind of connivence at; but the Papists could not follow the same Method; For whereas the Protestant Ministers (if the Government had on a sudden fallen to severity) knew they should be but disturb'd, or at most imprisoned for a day or two; a Popish Priest was sure to be hanged, and all his Auditory fineable also by the known Laws of the Land. Our Case being thus this *Gentleman* to feel the pulse of the *Rebels*, who had so highly exclamed against the late *Protestant*, and *Presbyterian* severities, wrot, (as some say) two books, calld the *first & second Moderators*, in the name of one *Birchley*, though others will have it that *Birchley* wrot them himselfe; who was a known *Independent*, that stood to Principles, & being now in

power, would have that *Liberty of Conſcience* granted all men, which he thought ſo reaſonable, when he was under Hatches. What wonder is it then, if *Birchly* should (commiſerating the harduſage of Papiſts as Chriſtians) write, *That many of them were hunted into Garriſons for feare of the Parliament Souldiers*; That *they had taken the engagement*; *That he thought that they would be bound by their own Intereſt to live peaceably, & that by becomming Gainers, they could not be ſo reaſonably diſtruſted, as the Prelatique Party*; *that were Looſers*. But ſuppoſe now the *Catholique Gentleman* (being perchance a better Pen-man) had been the *Scribe*, He only wrot the ſence of *Birchely*, & was to word things (eſpecially ſince there was no *Treaſon* nor *Hereſie* in the Worke) as his friend would have him, who was to owne it, & not as he himſelfe pleas'd. Nay, had the ſaid *Gentleman* bin the Sole *Contriver*, *Author* & *Publisher*, one muſt needs very much queſtion, either my *Adverſary's* Judgement, or good nature; who can lay the Indiſcretion, (which is the moſt that can be ſaid of it) of a privat man upon all of us, & this too with that Fury, that now forſooth, according to the Inference of his Diſcourſe, the Catholiques of

En-

England are every mother's ſon of them villaines, & theſe Pamphlets out-weigh all their former Loyalty & Sufferings. Would not this Turkish Logick then make the whole Church of *England guilty of Phanatick Principles*, becauſe Dr. *Taylor* wrot *his liberty of Propheſying*? And what will become of all the merit of the brave *Proteſtant Cavaliers*, if ſuch conſequences were allowed. Every body knows, that ſome of the Greateſt among them got off *Deciemation* by favour, and that many refuſed to receive *Letters*, much leſs *Commiſſions* from the King. How many Souldiers alſo were there that ſerved *Cromwel* at *Jamaica* and other Places? neither failed there a compliance in Poets too, even in *Cowley* and *Cleveland* themſelves: and for *Lawyers* there was no want of them in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, whenſoever a *Cavalier* had need. The *Miniſtry* alſo of the Nation had thoſe among them that were not able to reſiſt Temptation; for there were not a few that took the *Covenant*; and Dr *Martin* in his printed *Letters* taxes a famous Dr. (then one of the Kings Chaplaines, & ſince a great Prelate) for complying with the *Presbyterians* or *Hugonots* abroad. But why does my Adverſary lay the taking of the *Engagement* as a crime againſt us, ſeeing

it was generally taken through the whole Kingdom, no body being capable of the benefit of the Law that had not done it? Nor did any Protestant fail of calling the *Parliament the Supream Authority of the Nation*, if they had *Law suits*, *Petitions*, or any thing else of that Nature; & how miserable the then condition of *Catholiques* was, let any man judge, all their Estates beeing under *Sequestration*, & theirs to be *sold out right*, that had bin in *Armes* for their Liege Lord & Soveraigne.

XVI. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We know, though we differ something in Religion, the truth of which, let the last day judge, yet none can agree with your inclination, or are fitter for your converse then we; for as we have as much birth among us as *England* can boast of, so our breeding leans your way both in Court and Camp; and therefore had not our late Sufferings united us in that firm tie, yet our like humours must needs have joyned our hearts. If we erre, pity our condition, and remember what your great Ancestors were; and make some difference between us that have twice converted *England* from Paganisme, and those other Sects that can challenge nothing but intrusion for their imposed Authority.

16. Answer.

16. Anſwer.

He ſays, *he agrees with me in all that is truly Catholick, and differs only in what we have innovated: he reſpects our breeding, but ſuſpects whatever leans to forreign juriſdiction. 'Tis a ſlam that we have twice converted* England; *and that ſure we mean it has been twice converted by perſons ſent from* Rome; *which we will never perſwade any one to believe, that has taſted Church Hiſtory, without our Fathers chewing it for him. But ſuppoſing this true; He asks then whether we would infer, that becauſe they received good from the Primitive Chriſtians of that place, they ſhould lay themſelves open to recieve any ill, that may happen to them from their dangerous Succeſſours.*

16. *Reply.*

Concerning my Adverſary's ſaying, *that he agrees with me in all that is truly Catholique*, I kiſſe his hands; for ſo cry'd *Jacob Behmen*, *Mr. Fox*, *Mr. Woodcock*, & all thoſe that are call'd *Phanatical* by the Miniſtery; nay *Arius* often made this Profeſſion, it being the old, as well as modern ſong of Heretiques in all Ages.

Ages. If my Adversary suspects we incline to any *foreign Jurisdiction* in Temporals, I must tell him his Feares are groundlesse & vaine; for no people were ever greater Opposers of it, than our *Popish Ancestors*, nor are the *Protestants* more Zealous against it now, than we our selves. But on the other side as to *foreign Jurisdiction* in Spirituals, 'tis so far from diminishing the Glory & Strength of a Kingdom (as I have already
a p. 11. prove'd it in the a *Preface*) that it adds to it's well-being, & that our Nation was never more happy at home, or glorious abroad, than when his *Holinesse* was our Spiritual Head & Director.

Conversion of the Saxons. As for the two *Conversions* of this Nation mentioned in the *Apology*, though they are of great standing & antiquity, I shall not run notwithstanding for proofs to any higher or more authentique Autority, than our own *Protestant Historians*, according to my method hitherto followd in all other Disputes. But methinks my *Adversary* might have sav'd me some trouble, & have acknowleg'd at least,
b *Fox's Cronol.* *that the last Conversion was Popish*, since the whole buisinesse was design'd by Pope *Gregory the first*, whom b *Fox* call's *the holiest of all his Predecessors*, and executed

cuted not only by *Auguſtine* a a *Monck*, as *Speed* ſtiles him, but by a whole troop of them, according to *Stow*; For he ſayes „ b *In the* yeare 596. *Pope Gregory* mov'd of „ godly Inſtinction, in the 147th yeare af- „ ter the arrival of the *Angles* in *Britain*, „ ſent *Auguſtine*, *Melitus*, *Juſtus* & „ *John*, with ſundry other *Monks*, that „ liv'd in the feare of God, to preach „ the Goſpel to the Nation &c; Now ſeing we never heard of *Proteſtant Moncks*, 'tis a shrewd ſuſpition, *That theſe Miſſiaries were popishly affected.* But the Reaſon I finde, why my *Adverſary* cannot allow them to be of our Religion, is becauſe their comming was within leſſe than 600 yeares of *Chriſt*, which ſeveral *Proteſtants* grant to be the *Primitive times*, & full of Light & Piety. This *Auſtin* alſo ſurviv'd his Maſter *Gregory*, as all Writers record; & if he liv'd in *England* 16 yeares (as *Fox* dreames) He was then a Subject to *Boniface the* 3d. whom all Proteſtants deem the great *Antichriſt*, & Aſſumer of the title of *Univerſal Bishop*, as I already c mentiond. At leaſt that holy man *Lawrence*, who has the Title of *Saint* given him by Dr. d *Heylyn*, who converted the wicked King *Edbald* to Chriſtianity (as e *Stow* tell's us) & who was ordaind by *Auſtin*

a *Speed.* p. 347.

b *Stow.* p. 57.

c *Rog.* 7. 159.

d *Heyl.* to *Endlish Hiſt.* p. 62.

e *Stow.* p. 59.

Austin himselfe to succeed him in the *Arch-Bishoprick*, for feare (as this *Author* has it) [a] *That the Church being as yet but rude & lately converted, might waver & fall, if it should want a Pastor & Ruler never so little a while*; I say at least that holy man *Lawrence*, liv'd during the whole Pontificat of this *Boniface*, & was obedient to him; nor did ever any *Bishop of Canterbury* disown a dependance on the *Roman See*, till *Cranmer* thought lately fit to do it; & therfor had the Pope no better a title to his jurisdiction in the Church of *England* than 1100. yeares Prescription, I would fain know how any *English* Christian in Conscience can take the *Oath* of *Supremacy*, which expresly declares; [b] *That no foreign Prelate or Person hath*, nor (which is more) *ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence or Autority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realme*. Nay Church of *England* men scruple not, to grant the Pope to be [c] *Patriarch of the West*, & yet they'l swear, *he has, & ought to have nothing to do with us*, though they see he has had to do with us ever since *Saint Austin's* arrival, & this owned also till the Reformation, both by Prince & People in every age. And certainly if a pretended or real

Stow. p. 58.

The Oath of Supremacy cannot be safely taken by a Protestant.

b Vid: the said Oath.

c King James to all Christ: Monarks &c. p. 305

one

encroachment in *Jurisdiction*, cannot free us from *Treason* & sin, if therupon we should offer to imagin the laying aside of our *Supreme temporal Governour*; how is it then possible to free our selves from *Schisme* & *Perjury*, if for some real or ptetended encroachments of a *Pope* or two, we absolutly expell & swear also to the Expulsion of our *Supreme Spiritual Governour*, own'd, as I said, both by Prince & People for so many Centuries together? Let our Protestants then consider what an Oath they swallow, & with what Justice & Conscience they have put to death poor Catholiques for being of the contrary opinion, as I showd you in the 4.th a *Reply*. a *p.*88.

If there be any man that yet thinks not *Austin* Papist enough, let him read *Saint* b *Bede's* History, who (besides the *Miracles*, *Godly life*, & continual *labours* of this our *Apostle* & his Fellows) tell's us b *Chap.* 27. *p.* 163.

„ That near the City of *Canterbury* on the „ East side of it, there was an old Church „ of *Saint Martyn*, where they *sung* „ *Psalms*, *Pray'd*, *say'd* MASSE, *baptiz'd*, „ &c. till the King's Conversion; But since the Authority of Popish *Saint Bede* (though he lived within lesse than 60. Yeares of *St. Austin*) may be questioned, let

let us rather consult some *Protestant* about it, & among them let the *Apostat Frier Iohn Bale* be one, who gives us this rare Account in his book *de* [a] *scriptoribus Angliæ*, „ *That Roman Austin a Benedictin* „ *Monck* was sent from *Gregory the first*, „ to bring the *English Saxons* to the „ *Papistical* Faith. That being ignorant „ as well of the *Scriptures* as of the Lan„ guage of the Country, he preached „ false Doctrin. That *K: Ethelbert* being „ nevertheless converted by the per„ swasion of his wife *Bertha*, reciev'd at „ length [b] *Popery* with it's annext *Super*„ *stitions*. That presently *Austin* introduced, „ *Altars, Vestments, holy Vessels, Reliques, &* „ *Rituals*, all which with the benediction of „ *Saint Peter, Gregory* sent him; *for their chief* „ *study was about Oblations for* MASSES, „ *Episcopal* Sees, & Tithes. This is *Bale's* story, & pray *Reader* tell me whether *Popery* be not here set down to purpose; & whether any *Infidel* could give a more scandalous Account of a *Christian Conversion*, than this ill man has done; & this only because the *Conversion* was wrought by the *Pope* & his Agents; nay he far surpasses *Fox*, who though he calls sometimes *Austin*, *Pharisaical*, yet confesses that those Missioners lived a good life, & did [c] *Miracles*

[a] *Bal: fol.* 34. & 35.

[b] *Romanismum.*

[c] *Fox*: 1. *vol. p.* 150.

bee

before the *King*.

As for the other *Conversion*, it happend under *K. Lucius*, about Anno 180. which was 400. & odd yeares before *Saint Austins* comming; nor do any Reformed *Historians* question, *that Pope Eleutherius sent Damianus & Fugatius* (two *Ministers* forsooth as [a] *Heylyn* call's them) *to preach Christ to the Britains*; & who can doubt then, if these were sent from *Rome*, but that they taught the *Faith* of *Rome*. Now when *Austin* (whom you see the *Protestants* already confesse *Popish*) came to convert the *Saxons*, he had conference with *Dinoth* the Abbot, & several of the *Moncks* of *Bangor*, that still preserved among the *British* the *Christian Religion*, & that *very* [b] *pure & holy*, as Sr. *Roger Twisden* affirms. In all their Dispute we finde no debate, but about the Customs of the Church, neither did *Austin* demand any thing more of them (as [c] *Stow* writes) *than to celebrate Easter in due time*; *to accomplish the mystery of Baptisme, according to the Roman & Apostolique Church*; *& to preach with them to the English*. But had there bin any difference in *Faith & Doctrine*, as *Speed* declares positively there was none; for he tells us, [d] *That the*

Conversion of the Britaines.

[a] *Heyl. Geog. p. 469.*

[b] *Hist. Vind. p. 5.*

[c] *Stow. p. 58.*

[d] *Speed 343.*

substance

substance of the Doctrine was embraced in Britain before the sending of Austin from Rome, only in Ceremonies they dissented, &c; I say had there bin any difference in *Faith* & *Doctrin*, Historians would not have failed to acquaint us with the particulars, seing they take notice of things of lesse moment; & besides every body knows how scrupulous the *Church* was in *Doctrine*, having condemned the *Arians*, *Eutychians*, *Nestorians*, & the like, for some things which to ordinary & humane capacities seemed but meer niceties.

If then *Austin the Popish Monck* (who also according to *Holinshed*, [a] *Infected us with the poyson of Romish errors*) agreed with the *Britains* in *Doctrine*; & if the *Britains* were the Preservers of the *Christian* Religion *pure & holy*, as we already see, & as *Fox* & all *Protestants* grant; it must needs follow (I hope) *that Popery was the Religion of the Britains*, & consequently of our glorious *Protomartyr St Alban*, as I told you in the 4th [b] *Reply*. Let any man therfor judge, *what was the Primitive Christian Religion here*; & whether he that will really deny that *Popery twice converted England*, will not deny our Saviour, if he can gain by it.

[a] *Hol. K. John p. 195.*

[b] *p. 95.*

XVII.

XVII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

But it is generally said, That Papists cannot live without persecuting all other Religions within their reach.

We confess, where the name of *Protestant* is unknown, the Catholick Magistrates (believing it erronious) do use all endeavours to keep it out; Yet in those Countreys where Liberty is given, they have far more Priviledges then we under any Reformed Government whatsoever. To be short, we will only instance *France* for all, where they have publick Churches, where they can make what Proselytes they please, and where it is not against Law to be in any charge or employment. Now *Holland*, which permits every thing, gives us 'tis true our Lives and Estates, but takes away all Trust and Rule, and leaves us also in danger of the Scout, whensoever he pleases to molest our Meetings.

17. Answer.

He says, *That what is generally said of Popish persecutions, is also generally believed; and that I answer deceitfully, in mentioning those Countreys only where the name of Protestant is unknown, and no liberty given them; but omit those where it is known, and no liberty given; as in* Flanders *now, and in* England *when it was Catholick. I instance, he says, in* France

France; *because it would not have been for my credit to instance in any other; but I should have considered how the Edicts of the Protestants liberty were obtained, and how they are observed. But if the Edicts were observed, he says it is no argument, that because a Liberty not against the Law is allowed them, it should be granted us against the Law. The Papists in* Holland, *he says, lent the chief help to fling off the* Spanish *yoak, and therefore deserve more then we, who would have brought it on our Country again.*

17. *Reply.*

I could not imagine my Adversary would have discover'd so great a Truth: for now, we see he confesses that whatsoever is said of Papists is generally believed. How are we traduced? What Stories are told of *Popes*? How many things of the whole body of Catholicks, and all taken for Gospel, as He himself; without any mincing the matter, acknowledges? But what dos He mean by Protestants known, and no liberty given? *Italy* and *Spain* know Protestants; nay, the *Turk* himself knows them, and is obliged to their disturbances in *Germany*. For were it *under one Monarch, & not so rent into*

factions

factions with diverſities of Religions (as [a] Sir Edwin *Sands* obſerves) *breeding endleſſe jealouſies, heart burnings and hatred, it needed no other help to affront the Great Turk, and to repulſe all his forces, to the ſecurity of Chriſtendom.* This is then another of the advantages which the Reformation brought, & no wonder that *Solyman the Magnificent* expreſt ſo much Kindneſſe for *Luther*, as I have juſt now [a] show'd you.

[a] *Sir Ed. S. p. 183*

[a] *Rep. 1. p. 275.*

Certainly I ſpoke plain enough, and that without deceit, *viz.* Where the name of Proteſtant is unknown, (that is, where it has not been yet planted) the Catholike Magiſtrates take care to keep it out: But where their Number or Rebellion has moved their natural *Prince* to grant them terms, they live with more liberty then Catholikes under any Proteſtant Government whatſoever. In *Flanders* they began (as you ſhall now ſee) with *Force*, & with *Force* they were at laſt quel'd; & therefore they could not expect any extraordinary priviledges; Neverthleſſe there are many Proteſtants in that Province, and particularly in the *Walon Countries*: nor have they their Miniſters hanged, though theſe places are under the obedience of the moſt Catholike King. What reaſon has my Adver-

Proteſtants better us'd by Papiſts then Papiſts by them.

sary to say I could name no other place but *France*, that grants Protestants Churches? If he remembers not several Governments in *Germany*, how come's he to forget *Poland*, even *Cracow* it selfe where the Orthodox *Socinian Cathechisme* was made. This I am sure that precious protestant *Mr. Milton* could have inform'd him of; for in his Worke of *true Religion, Heresie,* & *Scisme*, he thus has it; [a] *If the* French *&* Polonian protestants *(*sayes he*) enjoy among* Papists *the liberty of Arguing, preaching in their several Assemblies, publick Writing, & the freedom of Printing, much more may* a Protestant *justly expect it among* Protestants. Nay my *Adversary* might have, besides other Countries, thought of *Piedmont* where they have open *Churches*, & yet a man may be legally hang'd in *England* if he has but a privat *Chappel*. By all which it appeares, we can permit *Protestants* to enjoy those Privileges which they will not grant us in their jurisdiction, though there be a vast difference between their case & ours; for all *Countries* (even from their first recieving of *Christianity*) were posses't by us, whereas the *Reformed* got the Government in their hands every where by *Rebellion*, except in *England* & a Pro-

[a] p. 8.

vince

vince or two in *Germany*; & yet the motives of these Revolts are so foul & ugly, that they themselves are asham'd of them. Therefore, as a man that is turned out of his house by a stranger, may expect more favour then the stranger being dispossest can do from the right owner, so *Papists* may justly expect more liberty from protestants, than they can upon any pretence from them; yet *Protestants* live to this day freer in Catholique Kingdoms, then we do under them: enjoying Civil employments of great advantage, which *Papists* are debarred wholy from in all Countries, I except none, that are of the Reformed Faith.

Of the Protestants procedure in Holland &c.

I know not what my Adversary would be at, that the Low-Country *Papists* were the chief cause why the *Spanish* yoak was thrown off. 'Tis true, there were many factious Catholikes there at that time, stirr'd up by the insinuation of the Reformed, as Saints enflame honest men now adayes: Yet for all this, not only the first insurrections & tumults (according to *Strada* in his *Bello Belgico*) an *Historian* so highly cry'd up & admir'd by *Protestants*, & particularly by that learned Gentleman *Sr Robert Stapleton*, who translated

[a] *Strada Stap. l. 3. p. 61*

[b] *Eur. Mod. Spec. p. 58.*

it, I say not only the *first Insurrections & tumults* were (according to this [a] Writer) *acted by the Calvinists at Tournay, Lisle, and Valencien*; but also in the year 1581. as the [b] *Protestant* Author of *Europæ Modernæ Speculum* will tell you) *by a publick Instrument they declared their King Philip to have rightfully fallen from the Dominion of the Provinces, then united under the profession of the Reformed Religion*: neither would they ever afterwards suffer the *Papists* to have any share in the Government, for fear they should bring all things back again to their true Lord and Master. Nay Dr. *Heylyn* (though his *third Book* of the *History* of *Presbytery* be in a manner wholly concerning the prodigious Practices of these *Belgick Protestants*) has not the patience to stay so long, but even in his *second* he tell's us. „ [c] That *the Catholique* „ *King* sent the *Duke d'Alva* with a puis- „ sant Army to reduce the *Low-Countries* „ to Obedience, *where the* Calvinians *had* „ *committed as great Spoiles, & rapine as* „ *any were in* France *or* Scotland. But suppose, *Reader*, I had not proved the *Dutch* villany by the testimony of Writers of the *Protestant Religion*, I hope 'tis no excuse to their Rebellion, though some *Papists* did by accident facilitate their

[c] *Dr. Heyl: Hist. Presb. l. 2. p. 71.*

their work: For if so, then *the Murther of Charles the first by the Independent Party, and their erecting a Government without King or Lords, were not Rebellion, because the Presbyterians began the play*; which afterwards (but 'twas too late) they seemed to detest, and openly to exclaim against it.

How the Protestant Edicts in *France*, which my Adversary mentions, were obtained, you shall hear in this very Section that follow's.

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Because we have named *France*, the Massacre will perchance be urged against us. But the World must know that was a Cabinet-Plot, condemned as wicked by Catholick Writers there, and of other Countries also. Besides, it cannot be thought they were murthered for being Protestants, since 'twas their powerfull Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would) that drew them in to that ill-machinated destruction.

18. Answer.

To this he says, *that the* French *Massacre was so horrid a cruelty, that* Thuanus *tells us, That having considered men, and turned over the Annals of Nations, he could find no example for it in Antiquity; that it was cloakt with*

shews of Amity, and a Marriage between the Houses of Valois and Bourbon, to which the chief Protestants being invited, were after their jollity of mirth, in the dead of night butchered in their Houses, without distinction of Sex or Age, till the channels ran with blood, none escaping but the Bridegroom, and the Prince of Conde, who were afterwards the one poysoned, & the other stab'd by men of our Religion. He proceeds, that this which I say was condemned by Catholick Writers, was also extolled as glorious by others of them; and that one may guesse at my meaning, and that I am of their sentiment, since first I call it a Cabinet-Plot, a fine soft word for the Butchery of 30000. persons. Secondly, in answer to them that call it murther, I seem to blame it as done by halves, in terming it an ill machinated destruction. Lastly as for my saying, that it was their Rebellion drew it on them, let their Faith have been what it would; It was indeed their Faith, let their Obedience have been what it would: for the King never had better Subjects then those that were Massacred, nor his Successor worse Rebels then the Massacrers. Then he tells us, that the brave Coligni was the first killed, and his head was sent to Rome, and his Body dragged about Paris; and besides, he says, that the Duke of Guises factious Authority (as I sweetly

sweetly stile it) *was a Black Rebellion*; *and to decide whether they were Maßacred for the Protestant Religion or Rebellion*, *because both he and I may be partial*, *he desires we should take judges between us.*

To make it appear it was not for Rebellion they were Maßacred, *he cites K.* James, who says „ I could never learn by any good and „ true intelligence, that in *France* those „ of the Religion took Arms against their „ King. In the first Civil War they stood „ only upon their Guard, &c.

To prove that they were maßacred for their Religion (*since I will admit no judge but the Pope*) *he undertakes to shew us that it was his judgment*, *from* Thuanus, *a Catholick Writer*, *who tells us*, *The Pope having an account of the Maßacre*, *read the Letter in the Consistory*, *there decreed to go directly to St.* Marks, *and solemnly give thanks for so great a blessing conferred on the Roman See*, *and the Christian World*: *That soon after a Jubilee should be publisht throughout the whole Christian World*; *and these causes were expresst for it*, viz. *To give thanks to God for destroying in* France *the Enemies of the Truth and of the Church*: *That in the evening the Guns were fired at St.* Angelo, *Bonfires made*, *and all usual things performed in the greatest Victories of the*

Church:

Church: That some dayes after, there was a Solemn Procession to St. Louis, *and an Inscripe tion set over the Church-door by the Cardinal of* Lorrain, *to congratulate his Holinesse and the Colledge in the Kings name, for the stupendious effect and incredible events of their Councels given him, and of their assistance sint, and of their twelve years wishes and prayers. Soon after, he says, the Pope sent Cardinal* Ursini *to congratulate the King, to commend and blesse them that had to do in the Massacre, and perswade the reception of the Councel of* Trent, *by this Argument; That the memory of the late glorious action (to be magnified in all Ages, as conduçing to the Glory of God and Dignity of the Holy Roman Church) might be sealed by the approbation of the Holy Synod; for so it would be manifest, that the King consented to the destruction of so many, not out of hatred or revenge, but an ardent desire to propagate the Glory of God (which could not be expected while the Protestants stood) through all the Provinces of* France. *Then he concludes with commending the Head of the Church for his judgment in cutting throats, & not mincing the matter like me (whom he is pleased to call an* English *limb of him) who durst not say what I desired, for fear of provoking the Protestants; nor what*

what the thing deserved, for contradicting the Pope.

18. *Reply.*

Can *Thuanus*, or any man else, look upon that action with more horrour then I? Certainly no. Yet Reader, I must tell you *Thuanus* is esteemed as partial an Author as ever undertook the writing of a History; Nay Dr. *Heylyn* himself in his Geography says, That [a] *Thuanus favours more of the party, then of the Historian.* Now for his professing to be a Catholick, it adds nothing to his Authority, because in every Religion there are those that write out of spleen and Faction. *Mr. Milton* is a profest *Protestant*, yet in his Books the true matter of Fact is so perverted by his malice, that it becomes at last as false, as the rest of those blasphemies, with which his Papers are stufft. But though *Thuanus* be thus reputed, yet my *Adversary* will aggravat all things to do us mischief. He has told us that the *Pope* ordered a Jubilee througout Christendom, to give God thanks for destroying in *France* the Enemies of the Church; by which he would have the Reader believe, that the Massacre was the cause of this Jubilee; when

Of the French Massacre.

[a] *Heyl. p. 71.*

a Th. p. 3065. whenas a *Thuanus* tells us, *That the Jubiles was to thank God for the Victory at* Lepanto *against the* Turke, *for the succesſe of* Spain *against the Low-Country Rebels, and to beſeech God for the Election of a Catholick King in* Poland, *as well as for the buſineſſe in* France. But truly, I need not wonder at this uſage, for the *Preachers of God's Word* now a dayes thinke they may lawfully ſay any thing, ſo it diſcredit's the Papiſts.

For my part, I cannot believe, that the *Pope* and *Conſiſtory* (who are by *Proteſtants* reputed dexterous and ſubtle) would make a publike *Proceſſion and Triumph* for Murther in cold blood, which could bring them no farther good (for the advantages were already obtained) but might occaſion much ſcandal, which, by reaſon it was the cauſe of *Luthers* revolt, was the more carefully to be avoided for the future. It may be they were not ſorry in their hearts, For what men are ſo at the death of their Enemies? Yet we often know that thoſe which have a titillation, the thing being done, would nevertheleſs looſe rather their own lives, then give the leaſt conſent to the fact. But 'tis not my task to vindicate the private paſſions of men, were the whole narration true; for *Popes* & *Cardinals* may have their frailties,

& therefor I will haſten to the material charge, to wit about the Plotters of this Maſſacre & the cauſe of it.

Davila tells us in his Fifth Book, *That the King and Queen-Mother contrived the drawing of the heads of the Rebels thus into their Nets; and communicated the deſign only to the Duke of Anjou, the D: of Guiſe, the Cardinal of Lorraine, & the Count of Rheiz;* as alſo that this reſolution to Maſſacre them, was a pretty *while before Pius the V. died.* In the ſame Book *we have it too, that this Pope's death was ſome three months before the execution* Againe we find there that the ſaid *Pope would never conſent to the marriage of Margaret of Valois to the King of Navar,* by reaſon of his Religion, which denial is alſo acknowleg'd by the *Hugonot De la Serres*, & yet in the time of this marriage *Charl's the* 9. had determined the Butchery: Therefore putting the whole account together, 'tis plain the Pope had no hand in the Buſineſſe. *Gregory the* 13th (who ſucceeded, and before whoſe Election the *Maſſacre* we ſee, was deſigned) was at laſt brought to diſpence with the Match, being made ſenſible how dangerous it might be in thoſe Schiſmatical times if it ſhould be ſolemnized without his leave; for

a *Charls* 9. p. 712.

ſo

[a] Dav. l. 5. so the [a] *King had threatned his Predeceſſor*, as *Davila* tell's us, & daily gave more ſignes of this his reſolution therein, and of his anger for being ſo long contradicted & oppos'd at *Rome*. Beſides had the *Pope* been of the plot (as 'tis plain he was not) 'tis ſtill evident (*according to the Apology*) that the *King* and *Queen Mother* (who could only perform this *Maſſacre*) were moved to it out of *Intereſt of State*, *and not Religion*. For He was no ſuch *Preciſian*, upon a *Spiritual* account to draw ſuch a hazard, or at leaſt a ſcandal on his own perſon: and for the *Queen-Mother* (that great Intriguer) ſhe valued *Religion* little; *for ſometimes ſhe favoured Proteſtants*, *ſometimes again perſecuted them*: Nay, when it was for her advantage, ſhe gave great and ſuſpicious ſigns *that ſhe would be of the Reformed Religion alſo*, as may be ſeen in [b] *Davila*, her own Hiſtorian & Creature. All this being therfor conſiderd, might not I with reaſon call it a *Cabinet Plot*, when it was deſign'd by no *Bigot*, but a *Machievillian* Prince in his very *Cabinet*? & for the *Pope*, he was ſo far from contriving it, that he would never conſent to the marriage, without which it could not have bin executed. But my Adverſary ſtill ſayes, *they died for their Religion*

[b] Lib. 2.

Religion, & that the King had no better Subjects, brave Coligni *being the first that fel.* To the end then it may appeare what a good Subject my *Adversary* makes himselfe to be, & what Loyalty the Church of England teaches (for this her Champion pretends to deliver no *Doctrine* but hers) I will briefly show you how these *Hugonots* behaved themselves, among whom *Coligny* was the *Hector*, or rather *the Amadis de Gaul*, & who has the title of *Brave*, we see confer'd upon him. Whatsoever I shall here set down, may be found in the first five Books *of Davilas Civil Wars of France*; an *Author* of mighty Fame & Esteem among learned *Protestants*, as also an Eye-witnesse of most particulars.

Of the Protestants procedure in France.

In the time of *Francis* the first, *Calvin* appeared, and dedicated his *Institutions* to him. The preaching of this man pleased the changeable humor of many *French*, but the Sect was kept under by the King, and especially by his Son *Henr.* 2. who like a wise Governour was unwilling to let an unheard of Religion get root in his Country, well knowing that *Rebellion* would follow, as afterwards it happend to the purpose. *Francis* the 2. succeeded *Henry*, who was althogether governed by the Houſe

House of *Guise*, by reason of the great power they had in his Father's Reign, and more especially now, because the *Queen-Consort* was our glorious *Mary* of *Scotland*, & daughter to the Sister of this ambitious *Duke*. The House of *Bourbon* (being the first *Princes of the Blood*) were greatly troubled they had no interest in affairs, and tried all manner of ways, though without successe, to get into play: Wherupon the Prince of *Conde* (a hot-headed man) perceiving he could not ruine the *Guises* by ordinary means, calls all his partizans together (among whom *Coligni* was the Chief) to *la Ferté* an Appennage of his, and there he told them, *they must take Arms* to free themselves from the slavery they were in by the ruling Party. The fiery youth were all of the Princes opinion, & earnest to begin the War without delay; but, *Brave Coligni* replied, *That this were to ruine them all, seeing that though their pretences were fair, yet few of the Nation would follow them; and on the other side, all foreign Princes were in amity with* France *by the late agreement of the deceas'd King. If they had a mind, he said, to do their business home, the sole way were to pretend Religion, which in it self had an honourable appearance; and besides, the* Calvinists *in* France

France *were many*, *hating the* Guises, *and wanting only a Head*; *nor would the Princes of* Germany *&* Qu: Elizabeth *fail to assist them on this score in all Extremities.*

Thus the *Brave man* not only consented to *Rebellion*, but put them in a holy method, effectually to perform it: nor did the Assembly faile to applaud the Councel of this *Achitophel*, and therupon *Andelot* his Brother (*a most turbulent man*) and the Vidasme of *Chartres* (*rich and debauch't*) were appointed to execute their determinations. The manner of the Plot was this: To get a great company of unarmed *Hugonots* to go to Court, and there to clamour *for Liberty of Conscience*, & upon their being misus'd (as they imagin'd they would soon be) the Protestant Souldiers (which for that purpose were to be provided) should immediatly come to their assistance; and under pretence of defending the injur'd *Petitioners*, they might fall on, and wholly destroy their Enemies. Besides this, 'twas reported, that in the Hurly-Burly the King and his three Brethren were to be made away, and God knows whether this last part were not as true as the first, seeing after the death of these Children, the House of *Bourbon* (Heads of the design) were by

by right of succession to have the Crown.

But now see how far the *Conspiracy* succeeded: The Provinces were allotted to several of the most considerable men in each division, who were to make ready their Levies against the 15 of *March* 1560, & to meet at *Blois*, an unfortified Town, where then the Court resided. *Godfrey de la Barre (a Gentleman of Perigord, who had left his Country by reason of forgery in a Law-suit and turned Calvinist) was made Commander in Chief*, and according to their success, the *Prince*, *Admiral*, and the rest would order affairs. The *Kings Counsel*, having at last notice of this, carries him without noise to *Amboise*, the better to secure him on a sudden, with the little force they had then in readiness. On the day appointed the *Conspirators* come, and finding the *King* gone, follow him to this Retreat, and assault the Castle; which being too strong to be presently their's, they were set upon by the Mareschal of St. *Andrew*, [illegible] at length defeated; *de la Barre* their [illegible]*steline*, with others being kild on the place, & most of the rest taken. Upon this traitorous attempt, the King summons an Assembly of the Nobles at *Fontain-Bleau*, where the *brave Coligni* gave

gave him a Paper, and said, *That the Protestants (hearing by his Majesties Edict, that every Subject might make known his Grievance in this Assembly) did present that Petition to him; & though it were not signed, yet when he pleased, it should be by 150 thousand hands.* The Assembly, for all this arrogance, advised against the countenancing these Rebellious *Hugonots*; but they encouraged by their leaders rose in Arms in several places, and filled the Court with complaints of their many insolencies: nor was the *Prince* of Conde himselfe idle, for with his Complices he set upon *Lyons*, but in the end beeing taken, (was by the three Estates at *Orleans*) condemned to be executed; and in this disorder the King died.

Charles the 9. was about eleven years old when he began his Reign, so that in his minority (the faction of the Protestants being so great) the *Prince* was acquitted, and liberty granted for publike preaching. Wherupon the *Hugonots* became so insolent, that *they Massacred people in Paris, burnt the Church of St.* Medard, *rifled Monasteries, and committed many such exorbitances.* The *Prince* also with a band of Soldiers would have seised on the *King's* Person at *Fontaine-Bleau*, but the *Duke* of

Guiſe got the King of *Navar* (firſt Prince of the Blood, and prime Commander of State) to bring him and the *Queen Regent* to *Paris*; which when the *Prince* underſtood, and ſaw himſelf defeated of his deſign, he told *brave Coligni*, *That he had plunged himſelf ſo deep, that now he muſt drink or drown*; and therupon attackt *Orleans* and took it, uſing all the inhumane barbarities that can be thought of. After this (according to the cuſtome of Rebels) a Manifeſto is ſet out, *That he took up Arms to free the Kings Perſon from the ſlavery in which the Catholick Lords held him.* This was directed to the Parliament; who again anſwered, *That they wondered how it could be ſaid, the King was priſoner, being in his own Capital City, of which* Charles *of* Bourbon *the Princes own Brother was Governour; where was preſent the King of* Navar *Chief Adminiſtrator of the Kingdom, where the Parliament ſat, and in fine, where all the great Officers of the Crown reſided.*

But why do I run to ſo many particulars of this notorious Rebellion, ſince the *brave Coligni's* own words (a little before his death) prove it ſufficiently, & alſo how great a Traytor he was? For juſt before the *Marriage* (like another

Ne-

Nebuchadnezzar in his pride) he said to some of his Confidents, *That neither* Alexander *nor* Cæsar *could be compared to him, because Fortune was their friend, but that he had lost four Battles, yet by his wit he still became more formidable to his Enemies.* If then this *brave man*, that began the Rebellion, as you have heard, that lost four *Battels* against his Prince, that seized on so many Towns, that diswaded Peace so often, and that did so many infamous actions all along (as the said Author show's us at large) shall pass, and not be thought a Rebel, then I will averre there was never Rebel since the Creation of the World. But as the *Turks* reject a Christian's Testimony (let him be of never so great repute) against a *Musselman* or true Beleever, so least there should be Infidels in *England* that had rather deny forty *Davilas*, then grant the *Hugonots* to be such Traytors, I must call upon Dr. *Heylyn* (that great Church of *England* man) & desire them to peruse the second Booke of *his History of the Presbyterians*, where they shall find ten times more said of these *Saints*. Nay because he would assure us that they were Rebels to purpose, the very *Contents* of his Book, are, [a] *Their manifold Seditions, Conspiracies, & Insurrections in the Realms*

[a] *Heyl. Hist: Presb: l. 2. p. 47.*

Realme of France; *their Libelling againſt the State, & the wars there rais'd by their procurement, &c.*

Having thus given you a short account how theſe potent *Hugonots* plagu'd theſe two Kings, be pleas'd to tell me now, *Whether it were not their powerfull Rebellion (let their Religion have been what it would) that drew them into this ill machinated deſtruction*; & certainly I muſt call it *ill Machinated* & wicked, when ſo many pious & learned Catholiques have deem'd it ſo. Nay Sr. *Edwin* Sands ſayes, [a] *That the Royaliſts of France* (which are the Court party, & who uſe alwayes to approve of the actions of Kings) *as much as they diſlike the attemps of the Proteſtants in alteration of Religion, ſo much, & more do they hate thoſe miſchievous courſes taken againſt them by their Adverſaries.*

[a] *Survey* p. 194.

This may be alſo gather'd out of the King's *Declaration*, or *Manifeſto* after that bloudy act; *That though he had been ſo horribly abus'd (as all the world ſaw) by the Hugonots, yet it was not his deſign to Maſſacre ſo many, but only to cut off ſome Heads of the Party, who ſo highly fomented the former Sedition: & therefore it was, that he cauſed* Coligni *their Ringleader to be ſhot; but the bullet only breaking his arm, his Partizans*

grew

grew to such a rage, that they threatned a present War, and his destruction with his families, which necessitated him to what he did, viz. immediatly to destroy those that had thus vowed his ruine. Nor dos this seem altogether improbable, for had the *King* from the beginning resolv'd to murther thus all the *Hugonots*, it had bin certainly great folly *to shoot the Admiral two dayes* (as *De Serres* & every body else acknowleges) *before the general Massacre*; since it must necessarily have alarm'd the Party, & given occasion to many to get away, as not a few did thereupon, according to the relation of all Historians. *De Ser. ch. 9. p. 716.

But 'tis time for me to end with these most notorious *Rebels*, who fought so many battels with their *King*, who fortified so many towns against him, who brought so many foreign Armies into their Countrey; & because all things are lawfull for *Saints*, they deliver'd *Havre de Grace* to *Queen Elizabeth*, by which we had new footing in *France*, even we the old Enemies of the Nation, that by formerly possessing only *Calis, had bin goads in their sides, & prickles in their eyes* for so many yeares together: Nay it was they that began with *Bloud*; for the *brave*

Coligni & his *Chaplain Beza* not only got *Francis Duke* of *Guise* to be barbarously murthered by *Poltrot*, *who confest upon what incentives he had done the Fact*; & *who could*, (as [a] *Dr. Heylyn* urges) *have no other ends in it, than to speake his Conscience*; I say the *brave Coligni* & *Beza* not only did this (which made the Guisian faction vow Revenge) but their Party *massacred several Catholiques in Paris*, as I show'd you lately out of [b] *Davila*; & these bloudy practices our said *Protestant* Dr. is so far from denying, that he confirm's their further inhumane proceedings in these words. „ [c] A greater „ diffidence (sayes he) was raised against „ the *Hugonots* by the unseasonable Zeal „ of the *Queen* of *Navar*, who (not con„ tent with setling the *Reformed Religion* „ in the Countrey of *Berne*, when she „ was absolute & supreme) suffered the „ *Catholiques* to be infested in her own „ Provinces, which she held imme„ diatly of the Crown; in so much that „ at *Pamiers* (the chief city of the Earl„ dom of *Foix*) the *Hugonots* taking offence „ at a solemn *Procession* held upon *Corpus* „ *Christi* day, Anno 1566, betook them„ selves presently to Arms, & falling „ upon those whom they found unarmed,

[a] *Hist. Presb. lib 2. p. 68.*

[b] *Lib. 3. p. 68.*

[c] *Hist. Presb. l. 2. p. 70.*

not

„ not only made a great slaughter among
„ the *Church men*, but in the heat of the
„ same fury burnt down their Houses;
„ Which outrage being suffered to pass
„ unpunished, gave both encouragement
„ & example to some furious *Zealots* to
„ commit the like in other places, as
„ namely at *Montaban*, *Calion*, *Rodez*,
„ *Prejeux*, *Valence*, &c; all which you
must remember *Reader*, was six yeares
before the Massacre of the Protestants.
Let me therfor again aske you, *If it were for their Religion that these Hugonots died*, as my *Adversary* would have it, & yet perchance he may be in the right, since their *Religion* & *Rebellion* are æquipollent Termes, & differ only in the sound, as the afore mention'd *Heylyn* has sufficiently made appeare.

No marvel then if the *Pope* & all *Catholique Princes* expresst by their Agents a dislike of these strange Actions, & a wonder that the King would suffer them; nor could his *Majesty* (though He were *so great a Master in the Art of dissembling*, as all Writers characterize him) refraine upon several occasions from telling the *Embassadors* & publique *Ministers that he would at last be even with them*; but he was so far upon the *Massacre* from pretending *Religion* in the Case (though it

be

be the usual cloak of all Politicians) that their owne *De Serres* expressly tells us,

a *De Serres c. 9. p. 719*

„ a The King wrot *Letters* to his *Ambassa-*
„ *dors* & *Governours*, advertising them,
„ that the tumult which had happen'd
„ *concern'd not Religion* but the preser-
„ vation of his Kingdom, Family, &
„ Person, against the efforts of the *Admi-*
„ *ral*, & some other *Seditious*, who had
„ conspir'd his own together with his Mo-
„ thers & Brethren's death, *& therfor he*
„ *would have his Edict of Pacification to be*
„ *religiously observ'd*; which *Edict* be pleas'd to know was that, that granted the *Protestants Liberty of Conscience*, & their other privileges.

So much then for the *Contrivers*, & *Cause* of this ill action; and as for *King James*, he might write as he pleas'd in their favour, though I believe many things are inserted in his Works, which he never knew of; at least I am sure he would have hang'd an *English Subject*, that being found in Armes, had no better plea for it, than *that he only stood on his guard.* Had that *Prince* lived in our dayes, & seen how the *Hugonot* pretences, viz: *Conscience*, & *the Liberty of the Subject*, had almost ruin'd his *Family*, they would have found I dare affirme for the future

future small Comfort from any vindication of his.

One charge more still remaines behind, or at least one of the usual Flowers of his witty and Rhetorical Demonstrations of Popish Cruelty, which in the *Massacre* (he sayes) *Scarce left a Protestant alive, except the Bridegroom Hen: the 4th, & the Prince of Condé, & yet they could not escape our hands, the one being afterwards Stab'd, & the other poison'd by men of our Religion*; Whenas the *Prince* (Reader) was poison'd at *Saint John d'Angely* (a *Protestant* town) by his *Protestant Friends*; for *Davila* writ's that he died there, [a] *Par poison qu'on disoit luy avoir esté donné pour les Interests particuliers de ses plus familiers Amis*. Nor dos the *Protestant* De [b] *Serres*, (though he acknowleges him *thus made away*, & has the particulars of his Sickneſſe, & defection) lay it on the Popish Party, which he would have done to purpoſe, had it bin ſo. Now for Hen: the 4th's Death, ſomething of it I have already diſcourſed in the 11. [c] *Reply*; & what malice but my Adverſary's would have here again hitten us in the teeth with this Murther, committed, as [d] *Sands* has it ,, by an *obſcure* ,, *Varlet* even in the Streets of his prin- ,, cipal *City*, by day, & then royally attended,

Condé poyson'd & by whom.

[a] *Davil. l. 9. p. 488.*

[b] *De Serres Hen: 3. p. 770.*

[c] *p. 189*

[d] *Sands Travels p. 1.*

„attended, *to show that there is none so* „*contemptible, if he contemneth his own* „*life, but is Master of another mans.* Nay the said *De Serres*, not only tell's us, that this Miscreant was [a] *mad*, but to show the horrour all the People had of this damnable Action, he further has it [b] *That they were so inflam'd against the Parricid, that they refus'd the consolation of singing with him the Prayers & Suffrages ordinarily us'd at Executions, & that they cursed him even to the pit of Hell*, with much more to the same purpose.

[a] *De Serres Hen: 4. p. 1127.*

[b] *De Serres Lewis 13. p. 1141.*

Thus we see how Catholiques detested this most execrable villany; but why should any man wonder at my *Adversary's* Accusations, when he has no better in all his budget, & when we find him defending these wicked *Hugonots*; as also allowing, & applauding their *Edicts*, which were obtaind by as wilfull & obstinat a Rebellion as ever was heard of? And therefor may not a man Suspect with some Reason, since he justifies such Agreements, had the *four Bills* pass'd at the *Isle* of *Wight* in our late Confusions, that he would have vindicated the procedure, & cited them (could he have found them for his interest) with as much Confidence, as if they had

had bin obtaind in time of Peace & Quiet.

XIX. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

May it not as well be said in the next Catholick Kings Reign, that the Duke of *Guise* and the the Cardinal (Heads of the League) were killed for their Religion also? Now no body is ignorant, that 'twas their factious Authority, which made the jealous Prince design their deaths, though by unwarrantable means.

19. Answer.

He says *the* Guises *were not killed for their Religion, for they were killed by* Hen: 3d. *one of their own Religion, & as much bent against Protestants as they. That Papists hated him only for sparing the Blood of Protestants, and not declaring his Protestant Heir uncapable of Succession. That for these causes the* Guises *by the Popes consent (who calls them the* Macchabees *of the Church) entred into the Holy League, and called in the* Spaniards *and* Savoyards *to maintain War against him, and deprive him of his Kingdom and Life. Whereupon the jealous Prince, as I favourably call him, dealt with them, as they had done with the Protestants. But*

their

their ease, he says, was so different from the Protestants, that he wonders I should mention it.

Then he tells us, the Pope excommunicated the King for the action, and gave nine years Indulgence to his Subjects to fight against him, foretelling, as a Pope might do without Astrology, that ere long he should come to a fearful end; and this he says hapned, for the Subjects earned the Indulgence, and a Frier *fulfilled the Prophesie. Which action (like the news of another Massacre) the Pope in an Oration to his Cardinals, called the work of God, and (for its wonderfulness) compared it with the Incarnation or Resurrection; preferring his courage before* Eleazars *or* Judiths, *and declaring the King (who profest he died in the Faith of the* Roman Catholick Church) *to have died in the sin against the Holy Ghost. Lastly, He asks, whether it may not be said, Papists cannot live without persecuting Protestants, when a Popish King is stab'd and damned for not persecuting them enough.*

19. *Reply.*

Here is a great deale of Cry to little purpose, for who denyes (were my Adversary's whole Story true) but the Pope,

Pope, who is also a temporal Prince, may have intrigues like other Governours, & may be too sometimes guilty of humane frailties, for which he is to be answerable to God Almighty, & not our Religion, as I have already often mention'd, & particularly in the [a] Sixth *Reply*.

[a] *Vid. Rep. 6. p. 141.*

Concerning the *Holy League*, I never approv'd it in my judgment, nor ever shall, & this I finde was the sentiment of *Pope Gregory* the 13th according to the testimony of *De Serres* a sufficient Enemy to the *Holy See*, who sayes. „ [b] That „ for the better authorising of this *League*, „ 'twas sent to *Rome* as a thing made to sup- „ port the Catholique Religion, but that „ *Gregory* (though contented they should „ undertake against the Hugonots) *did* „ *not approve those popular Insurrections,* „ *that might enveloppe a most Christian &* „ *Catholique King*; & would not be the „ Promoter of a war, which he could not „ extinguish, therfor he sent the *Deputies* „ home without Answer. This was it seem's the opinion of his then *Holiness*, but let what *Pope* will approve it, *Catholiques* are by no meanes oblig'd to do the like; nor did it want opposition by men all along, as Zealous for the

[b] *Serres Hen: 3. p. 750.*

Of the Holy League.

Roman

Roman Religion, as any Persons in the World. I say I am far from approving the League or the Actions of the *House* of *Guise*, but this we all know, that the *Hugonots* were their Masters; & that when the *Duke* & *Cardinal* were kill'd at *Blois*, their Partizans, & followers imitated these reform'd *Saints*, & ran into an open & formal War.

But how dos any thing yet urged by my *Adversary* invalidate the Inference I made from their Murther, & the Protestant *Massacre*? Had the new *Gospellers* bin inconsiderable in strength, or alwayes quiet at home, then *he might*, I confesse, *have wonderd I would mention*, or parallel *them*, & have also urg'd with some Autority, *That they suffer'd for their Religion*; but since both *Guise* & the *Hugonots* (being great in power, & endangering their Prince by Machinations & open Rebellion) were thus at last served, it must certainly be the greatest partiality imaginable, to say, *the Hugonots died here for their Faith*, nay as extravagant an allegation, as if a man should pretend it in behalfe of these *Heads of the League*, who were (that the pretence might yet appeare more ridiculous) of the same Religion with him that killed them.

My

My Adversary may well tell us of the great Joy at *Reme*, for the Death of *Henr.* the 3rd. when he sayes without citing the least Autority, *that there were 9. yeares Indulgence granted his Subjects that should fight against him*, a thing which neither *Davila* (who descends to particulars of all kindes) mentions, nor *De Serres* himselfe, whose Interest it was to relate what might draw any *odium* on *Sixtus Quintus*; & certainly had not my Adversary forgot all Candor in his Accusations, he would not so often have charg'd us with the Actions of *Popes* though blamable, since he well knows as I have say'd it againe & againe, *That it is no part of the Catholique Faith to believe them unerrable.*

Is it not also as odde to be continually harping on *Frier Clement*, whom the Divel hir'd to be the *Assasin*? I am sure he would have called me worse than a *Turk* (as he has already done) if I should lay at his dore the actions of *Hugh Peters*, that godly Minister, who never intrigued in any villainy, but had a Text of Scripture for it. Now concerning the *Popes Speech* you must know Reader, it was a forged thing to cast dirt on the *Papal Dignity*; *nor was it extant any where but*

among

among the Enemyes of the Church, as a *Tortus* (an *Italian* who was then alive at *Rome*) has it; & how can my Adversary believe if the *Pope* had extolled Frier *Clement* at such a rate in the very consistory before all his *Cardinals*, that *Cardinal Peron* (whom he cites as his Holinesses great Champion) would have afterwards call'd the said *Clement a Paricid, Infernal Monster, &c.* as I lately mentioned. Doubtlesse if any man considers it, he will finde the *Pope* had no such reason to triumph at the death of this King, who was alwayes a most firme Son of the Church, & easily brought again to what ever could be desired of him; whenas *Hen:* 4. a profest *Hugonot* was to succeed, whom though for the present the *League* might think themselves able to deale with, yet necessarily at best there would be a perpetual distraction in the Kingdom; nor could any man be ignorant that the said *Henry* was a wise *Prince*, & a great Soldier, & to be sure the least successe on his side, would have for ever endanger'd the Popes Interest there. As to the last part of his charge I have answer'd it sufficiently before, & showd *That Protestants live better under Popish Governours, than Papists do under theirs*; therfor I say again, who

a *Tort. p.* 70.

b *Rep.* 11. *p.* 189.

c *Rep.* 17. *p.* 305.

the

the Perſecutors are let the World judge.

XX. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

If it were for Doctrine that the *Hugonots* ſuffered in *France*, this haughty Monarch would ſoon deſtroy them now, having neither force nor Towns to reſiſt his Might and Puiſſance. They yet liue free enough, being even Members of Parliament, and may convert the King's Brother too, if he thinks fit to be ſo. Thus you may ſee how well Proteſtants live in a Popish Country under a Popish King: Nor was *Charlemaign* more Catholik than this; for though he contends ſometimes with the Pope, 'tis not of Faith, but about *Gallicane* Priviledges, which perchance he may very lawfully do. Judge then, Worthy Patriots, who are the beſt uſed, and conſider our hardship here in *England*, where 'tis not only a Fine for hearing Maſs, but death to the Maſter for having a Prieſt in his houſe; and ſo far we are from preferment, that by Law we cannot come within ten miles of *London*; all which we know your great Mercy will never permit you to exact.

20. Anſwer.

Here he denies the conſequence, to wit, though the Hugonots *then ſuffered for Doctrine, yet this haughty Monarch would not ſoon deſtroy them now: for he ſays, he may perſecute and not deſtroy them, or deſtroy them,*

but not so soon. Nor is this Monarch, he says, as Catholick as Charlemaign; *for if he were, he would be Patron of all Bishopricks in his Empire, make the Pope know the difference between a Prelate and an Emperor, and not chop Logick about* Gallicane *Priviledges: he would also call a Councel (as* Charlemaign *did against Image-Worship) to separate errours from the Faith. This he says were a good way to destroy the* Hugonots, *by taking away the causes of strife; but any other way he cannot, without violation of his Laws. Then he says, we complain of hardships we feel not, and insult over the* Hugonots, *who would mend their condition with changing with us. Popish Peers, he says, sit in English Parliaments, as well as Protestants in French; that we have as free access to our King's Brother, as they to theirs: and, that he knows not what we would have, unless we would Catechise his Highness, as the Abbot did the Duke of* Gloucester. *He concludes, That we complain hidiously of those Laws we never knew executed, and which, I say, I know never will be. But the Laws, he says, were made to guard the lives of our Princes against our traitorous Practices.*

20. *Reply.*

I must here again *Reader* desire your Judg-

Judgment, whether this Consequence in the Apology be not true & natural, viz. If the *Protestants suffird for Religion*, when by reason of their strengh it was dangerous to disturbe them, that then this haughty *Monarch*, being as much a *Papist* in *Faith*, as any of his Ancestors, *would soon destroy them now, having neither force nor Town to resist his migt & puissance*. Certainly this Cavil is as little to the purpose, as his insisting upon *Charlemaign*, who was *Western Emperour* as well as *King of France*, & therfor had so great Authority in Christendom. Besides I wonder he should urge him as a Quarreller with the Pope, being as great a Friend as ever that See had, & was (as [a] *Heylyn* has it) *for his many services to the Church, made Emperour, & gave it the* [b] *Exarchat of Ravenna, the Marca Anconitana, & the Dukedom of Spoleto*, which are the greatest part of the *Popes* lands in *Italy*. All the power the ancient *Cæsars* had in *Ecclesiastical* matters I know not, only this I can say, what they have granted, I think now as truly belongs to the *Pope*, as any Prerogative bestow'd by them on any persons else whatsoever.

[a] *Heyl. Geog. p.* 262.

[b] *Ib. p.* 172.

With what confidence can he tell us, *That the Hugonots would mend their Condi-*

tion by changing with us, & yet he cannot deny but they have all the advantages aforementioned; nay *Dr. Heylyn* after the repetition of the infinite *blessings* they enjoyd before their *Rochel-Rebellion*, thus concludes; [a] *In a word* (sayes he) *they lived so secure & happy, that they wanted nothing to perpetuat their Felicities to succeeding Ages, but Moderation in themselves, Gratitude to God, & good affections towards their King.* If then they lived so well before that villainy, they do so still, for the *Edicts* which granted them their happinesse, are yet in force, & allow'd of; only their *fortified Townes*, which made them ever unquiet to themselves & Countrey, are since taken from them, which nevertheless (had not they rebell'd) did not then by any agreement belong unto them; *for the old Grant was expir'd* ([b] as I show'd you before) by the *Sieur du Moulins* own confession. But what can parallel my Adversarys confidence, who dar's venture to print, that we have no reason to complain, or to use his own words, *we complain of hardships we have not*; whenas the whole English World knows, That instead of being capable *to be chosen Members of Parliament, to have Employements in our Countrey, or to convert any man*, as the *Hugonots* may do,

[a] *Heyl. Hist. Presb. l. 12. p. 430.*

[b] *Rep. 3. f. 87.*

do, 'tis *Treason* in us to bring the meaneſt Subject to our *Religion*; & as for *Offices* either of Profit or Truſt, we are borne with an incapacity like the Villaines formerly, who had no propriety in the Kingdom. If ſome few *Lords* ſit in their *Houſe*, 'tis becauſe the *Nobility* have gravely conſider'd, that it would be wonderfull Injuſtice to turne out a Party for difference in Religion, & permit other Diſſenters to continue; & ſince the diverſity of Opinions in the Nation were many, to have outed all, God only knew, upon whoſe Children the Lot might next fall; for the Church of *England* (they found) was not, nor never would be *Manna* to relish in every English Palat: And this frequent Nauſeouſneſſe in our Country men, that Eminent Orator Sr. *Ed: Dearing* was alſo very ſenſible of, & expreſt it to the full in the *Houſe of Commons*, as appeares by his printed Speech. „ *Mr. Speaker* (ſayes „ he) [a] You can hardly now ſay which „ is the *Church of England*—Whether ſhall „ we turne for cure? if I would deale „ with a Papiſt to reduce him, He anſwers „ (& I have bin anſwer'd ſo already) to „ what Religion would you perſwade me? „ What is the Religion you profeſſe? „ Your *Nine & thirty Articles*, they are

[a] *Vid. Speech Novem.* 20. 1641.

„ conteſted againſt; Your *publick ſolemn Li-*
„ *turgy*, that is deteſted; & which is
„ more than both theſe, the three eſ-
„ ſential, proper and only markes of a
„ *true Church*, they are proteſted againſt;
„ What *Religion* would you perſwade me
„ to? Where may I finde, know, ſee,
„ & read the *Religion* you profeſſe? I
„ beſeech you Sr. helpe me with an Anſ-
„ wer to the *Papiſt*. But that paſt the *Speakers* skill, had he had a minde to have lent a helping hand; for the *Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline* of *England* is ſo far from being follow'd in any part of the *Chriſtian World* beyond our own *Chanel*, that the beſt & only Character the great *Calvin* could give of it, was; [a] *That it contained Tolerabiles ineptias*, TOLERABLE FOPPERJES, as *Dr. Heylyn* mention's.

[a] *Heyl: Ch. Engl: 2: M: p. 61.*

'Tis no marvel thē if my *Adverſary* (having already aſſerted ſo many groſſe things contrary to what all People acknowlege) ſhould yet ſay, *We never knew the Lawes executed*, whenas there have bin put to death at leaſt 300. *Prieſts*, beſides *Laymen*, as I show'd you in the 11th [b] *Reply*. And who can be ſo great a Stranger in our *Iſrael*, as to be ignorant that Multitudes have died in Priſon, & that we have bin

[b] *p. 199*

bin *racked* both in our bodies & Estates to the higheſt degree imaginable. But I hope all brave men will intercede for us to his *Majeſty*, that ſince he the *Meſſias* & only expectation of the Nation is come, we may not feel in his Dayes, what we ſuffer'd under *Cromwel*, as well by the new as by the ancienter Laws: The conſideration whereof, & of our hard uſage in all Ages of the *Reformation*, forc't *Osborn* (a Proteſtant piquant enough againſt Popery) in his writings to ſay [a] *That againſt the poor Catholiques, nothing in relation to the generality, remains upon due proof ſufficient to juſtifie the ſeverity of the Lawes, daily enacted & put in execution againſt them.*

[a] *Hiſt. Mem. Q. El:* p. 17.

XXI. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

It has been often urged, that our miſdemeanours in Queen *Elizabeths* and King *Iames's* time, were the cauſe of our punishment.

21. Anſwer.

Your miſdemeanors? we cry you mercy (ſay's he) *if they were no more; but that comes next to be argued, whether they were misdemeanors or Treaſons.*

21. *Reply.*

I will paſſe by this great peice of Sub-

Subtility, though I confesse I never knew before, but *Treasons* were *misdemeanors*, and therefore I think the word *misdemeanour* is not improper.

XXII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We earnestly wish that the Party had had more patience under that Princesse: But pray consider (though we excuse not their faults) whether it was not a Question harder than that of *Yorck* and *Lancaster* (the cause of a War of such length and death of so many Princes) who had most right, Queen *Elizabeth*, or *Mary Stuart*. For since the whole Kingdom had crowned and sworn Allegeance to Queen *Mary*, they owned her as the legitimate daughter to *Henry* the *Eighth*; and therefore it was thought necessarily to follow by many, that if *Mary* was the true Child, *Elizabeth* was the Natural, which must needs give way to the thrice-noble Queen of Scots.

22. Answer.

He says, *that I wish the Catholicks had had more patience under* Q. Elizabeth, *but he thinks they needed none: for in the first ten years of her Reign (though what the Papists had done in* Q. Maries *time was fresh in memory) none of them suffered death till the Northern Rebellion, raised against her meerly upon*

upon the account of her Religion: 'twas she then that was persecuted, and had occasion for patience, and therefore I should have wisht them more Loyalty. But it appears I account Rebellion no fault; for I tell him, I will not excuse their faults, & yet I excuse their Rebellion, in saying, 'twas a hard Question, whether the right lay in Q. Eliz. or the Q. of Scots, because many thought Q. Eliz. illegitimate. Here he asks, Who thought so? Or, when the Question arose? For, first, Ar. Bp. Heath a Papist, said in his Speech, no body could doubt her Title, & she was also own'd more generally & freely than Q. Mary. Secondly, the Kings of France, Spain, and the Emperour offered Marriage to her, and thereby hoped to get the Crown. Thirdly, the Q. of Scots and K. James acknowledged her, and claimed nothing but to be her Heirs and Successours. Then he tells us, that Paul 4th was the First that questioned her Title, because the Kingdom being a Fee of the Papacy, she had audaciously assumed it without his leave, as Paulus Suavius tells us in his Council of Trent; and secondly, because she was illegitimate. But his Successour Pius 4th would have owned her, if she would have owned him; which because she would not, the next Pope (Pius V.) issued out his Bulls, and deposed her, not for Bastardy, but for being a Protestant, upon which the

Northern-

Northern-men and others of her Subjects rebelled, and were every foot plotting against her life. 'Tis true, he says, the Q. of Scots Title was pretended; but he demands what would we have done if that Queen had not been Catholick, or Q. Eliz. not thought illegitimate; & whether a legitimat Protestant would have been Prefer'd by us to a Popish Bastard? Then he proceeds, & sayes, That Greg. 13th. had occasion to consider this, having a Bastard of his own, and another of the Emperour's to provide for: to the first of which he gave Ireland, and sent Stukely to Win it for him; and to the other England, with leave to win it for himself. But what was this to the Q. of Scots? who (he says) might perhaps have been preferred to marry one of them, upon condition her son James might have nothing to do with the Succession. For when she was dead, and her right in K. James, Sixt: V. not only took no notice of him, but curst Q. Eliz. again, and gave her Kingdom to Philip 2d. of Spain. Pope Clem. 8th. seeing he could do no good upon her (to take care another Heretick should not succeed her) sent his Breves both to Clergy and Layity, forbidding them to admit any but a Catholique; which was in plain words to exclude K. James; so that the Popes never stuck at the hard question. And now he asks, What our Coun-

Countrey men did or ſuffered for it, and anſwers himſelf, that they acted for the Papal intereſt, making uſe of the Houſe of Scotland *only for a cloak, while the Title was in* Q. Mary; *but when it was in* K. James, *no Papiſt ſtirred or ſuffered for it: yet they were not idle, but as buſie as Bees in contriving to haſten* Q. Elizabeth's *death, and to put him by the Succeſſion.*

To prove this, he urges the Spaniſh *Invaſion preſently after his Mothers death, negotiated and defended by Papiſts: That the Jeſuites procured* Huntly *to rebel in* Scotland: *That they perſuaded the Earle of* Derby *to ſet up a Title to the Crown of* England; *which he revealing, was poyſoned ſoon after, as* Hesket *had threatned him: That when their ſingle ſhot failed,* F. Parſons *gave a broad-ſide to the Royal Houſe of* Scotland, *in a Book published under the name of* Doleman, *ſetting up divers Competitors; and to provide a ſure Enemy, he found a Title for the Earle of Eſſex (to whom he dedicated the Book) being the moſt Ambitious and popular man in the Nation. But* the Book, he ſays, *prefers the Title of the* Infanta *before all others. Then he concludes from this his Diſcourſe, in which, he ſays,* nothing material can be denied, *that it appears, This hard Queſtion was not between the Parties themſelves in one of whom*

he

we confesse, the right was; For the Pope easily resolved it, who denied both sides of the Question, assuming the right to himself; and as concerning the English *Catholiques, he says, they sided with the Pope against Q.* Eliz. *and the Q. of* Scots *also: and lastly, that their misdemeanours were inexcusable Treasons, if any Treasons befriended by such an Apologist can be inexcusable.*

22. *Reply.*

'Tis strange methinks, that I must be denied the liberty, which all people else have. No man is forbiden to declare the pretensions of a Party, when he speaks of their commotions; yet here I am accused, *to think Rebellion no crime, and excuse their faults*, because I tell you what Papists in those dayes said for themselves. My Adversary can call himself a Loyal Subject, and yet defend the *Hugonots*, who were the most notorious and insolent Rebels that any History can shew; nor had they any thing to say for the *Massacres and continual ravages committed by them* (as I showed you) but Mr. *Calvin* and Mr. *Beza's* word, that God said thus and thus: and therefore, unlesse their respective Kings would suffer them to destroy

a *Rep.* 17. *p.* 317.

destroy a Religion in quiet possession since the Reign of *Clovis*, they would bring Armies into the field, invite forreign forces into their Countrey, and fortifie Towns against their Liege-Lord, according to their continual Practices we see, 'till they happen'd to be subdued in the Reigne of *Lewis* the 13th. I thinke Sr. (with your permission) I am as wellk nown in *England* as your selfe, & that my Loyalty is as little doubted by any *Protestants* there; Nor could I in Justice omit the plea of the Catholiques in the last age, (if you call that questioning Q. *Elizabeth's* title) since their Actions are daily thrown into our dish by you & your Party, when you have a minde to raile & calumniate.

But suppose I had questioned her Title, there is no Treasonable intention in it I am sure, because the Title of our King has no dependance upon her's: nor was She the first of our Monarchs against whose claime Posterity has argued. No body is blamed for saying King *Stephen* was an usurper, or that *Edw.* 4. had more right to the Crown than the three preceding *Henrys*. What is't then, I beseech you (were the fact proved against me) I have committed, that *Pro-*

ru-

testant Authors have not done and worse? Sr. Walter Rawleigh in his so applauded [a] *History of the world* has not only something to say against almost all our *Kings*, but *Buck in his Ric.* 3d. has bastardized *Hen.* 7th and all his offspring, *invalidating thereby their title either as* [b] *Yorkists or* [c] *Lancastrians*; Nor does [d] *Speed* refraine from questioning the right of most of our *Princes from the Conquest, till Henry the fourth's Reigne*; Yet none of these Authors have been branded with the Caracter of factious & ill Subjects: For he only is to be accounted so, who seditiously descant's on Titles, to breed Commotions and Disorders.

[a] *Vid. Pref.*

[b] *Buck p.* 20.

[c] *Buck p.* 44.

[d] *Sp. H. 4. p.* 623.

My Adversary says, I defend the calumny of those Catholicks, in saying, *'Twas a very hard question, whether the right to the Crown lay in* Q. Eliz. *or in the* Q of Scots. Reader, what I said was only, *That 'tis a harder Question, than the Dispute of York and Lancaster*; & because I would know your opinion, I will state these two Questions to you.

York had the interest of a third Brother by Marriage, *Lancaster* that of a fourth; and these two dispute about the Crown of *England*, which women are capable of.

The second Question is this: *Hen. the* 8th tooke

tooke to wife his Brothers widdow, who was said to be a Virgin; for Prince *Arthur was but fifteene at his marriage, as every body grants*. By this Princesse K. *Hen.* had our *Q. Mary*, and after he had lived thus in wedlock 20. years, he fell in love with a handsome young Lady, & presently had a scruple that it was unlawful to live longer with his old wife, seeing she had been formerly his brother's. His Conscience being still tender, he caused the Scriptures to be searched, and found (as he was told) not only there the *Marriage* to be void, but that the *Pope* himself had no power in *England*, and besides, that *rich Abbies* were very contrary to the *word of God*. Being thus informed by his Casuist *Cranmer* & others, he threw away *Wife*, *Pope* and *Monks*, and married *Anne Bullen*, by whom he had Q. *Eliz.*, his first Wife beeing then alive. 'This made many curious wits thinke, that there could be but one of the *daughters* legitimate, because both *Mothers* were contemporaries, and that to *Christians* the *Scripture* permits but one wife at a time. After the death of this *King* and his Son *Edward*, 'twas put to the Kingdom to decide, *Which of these Children were lawfully begotten*: both *Lords* & *Commons* acknowleg'd *Mary* for their Soveraign,

&

& declar'd by a solemn *Act of Parliament* the marriage of her mother *Qu. Katharine* to have bin good, *& to stand* (as [a] *Heylyn* has it) *With God's Lawes & his most holy Word*; which was the same thing as to owne *Qu. Eliz.* illegitimate; nor did the *Apostle* [b] *Luther* (as *Osborne* tell's us) deeme her otherwise. Nay her birth has no very good Savour, if we consider the Account given even by our *Protestant Historians*; for she being borne on the 7th of *September* 1533 (as all Writers agree) *there happen'd but some* 15. *Weeks between it and Qu: Katherines Divorce by Pope Cranmer's Sentence*; *for that bear's date* (as may be seen in my *Lord* [c] *Herbert*) *the* 23. *of the preceding May*; so that her Mother was more than *Quick*, whilst the *King* was yet Husband to another Wife. But though we should reckon from *Anne of Bullen's* privat marriage, which was (according [d] to *Stow*, [e] *Speed*, [f] *Bp: Godwin*, &c) *on the* 25th *of January*, yet still she came into the world within 7. moneths, & some odde dayes after it; a thing that might give people no little cause to imagine (she beeing borne well & Lusty) that her Mother was not over Honest, & consequently she her selfe unlawfully begotten, though the King had been free (as he was not) from any

[a] *Ch: Engl: Q: M: p.* 28.
[b] *Osb. Mem: Q: Eliz. p.* 5.
[c] *L. Herb H.* 8. *p.* 350.
[d] *Stow. H.* 8. 1533. *p.* 562.
[e] *Sp. H.* 8. *p.* 797
[f] *God. H.* 8. *p.* 326.

any obligation to his virtuous; & pious old Queen.

But the cause of his Majesty's scruple was well known to every body, as also that his brother *Arthur* had never known his wife. Nay, before the King married Queen *Katherine*, [a] *she protested* (as 'tis in my L. Herbert) *she was a Virgin, and offered to be tryed by* [b] *Matrons*. The *Bishop* of *Ely* also *deposed* (as the said Author has it.) *That the Queen* (whom all, we know, even the King himself esteemed a Saint) *had often in confession told him, she never carnally knew the Prince*. Nor in the whole examination was there any colourable pretence produc'd, but the common vanity of all boys to be thought men before their time: *For 'twas affirmed*, Pr: Arthur *should say the next morning after Marriage, that he had been in* Spain *that night*. Besides this, there were those, that could informe the people of Josephus's testimony, [c] *That Herodias parted from her husband Philip in his life time, & in contempt of the Laws married Herod*; & therefor though *St Iohn* forbad the said *Herod* to take his *brother's wife*, yet he never prohibited by those words a *Christian* to marry his sister inlaw, *if her Husband were dead*.

[a] *L. Herb p. 7.*

[b] *L. Herb p. 244.*

[c] *Ioseph. p. 472.*

The Case being thus fancied by the

Papists in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, they argued, that if *Mary* was the true Child, then the other was the Natural, but *Mary* was owned Legitimate (And my Lord *Bacon* [a] say's *the legitimation of Queen Mary and Elizabeth were incompatible*) Ergo the Kingdom not being Elective, *Mary Stuart* (the next Legal Heir) should in justice succeed her. Yet suppose the Papists concluded wrong, I am sure nevertheless, I am still in the right, *viz.* That it is a harder Question to resolve, whether the Marriage be Null; if a woman marries two Brothers, than whether a third or fourth brother has the better Title to the Crown; *for that was the contest betwixt* York *and* Lancaster.

[a] H. 7. p. 206.

But my Adversary urges, if the Papists thought Queen *Elizabeth* an Usurper, why did not they stir sooner; for there was no Rebellion (he says) in ten years, and then when it broke out in the North, there was not the least mention made of the Q. of *Scots*, or her Title.

I wish the Catholicks had not only been quiet ten, but forty five yeares; yet to shew you that my Adversary will be wrong in every thing, I shall give you a succinct account of this business. Q. *Mary* of *England* (*in the latter part of her Reign*) was

was in *open war with* France, & the Q. of *Scots* was *then Wife to the Dauphin* as [a] *Bp. Godwin* & all other *Historians* write; so that our Hostility, and the private intrigues of *Spain*, hindred all endeavours of the Q. of *Scots* friends to secure the Succession. Things being in this condition, Q. *Mary* dies; nor did the *Dauphin* make any present claim, which together with the natural coolnesse of *Englishmen* to all strangers, especially to the *French*, mov'd *Ar. Bp. Heath* the rather in behalfe of Q. *Elizabeth*, who as a Reward of his Service, soon gave away his *Bishoprick* to another. About 6 months after her Admission, *the Dauphin takes the Title, & Armes of England* (as [b] *Cambden* tell's us, whose Authority I shall make use of in the particulars that now follow) & presently thereupon his father by an accident dying He came to be King of *France*, by the name of *Francis the second* But Q. *Eliz.* was now too well setled to be deposed without blows; & before things could be ordered for such an enterprise, the *Hugonots* lying so heavy on his shoulders, he was *necessitated to the* [c] *Treaty of* Edenburgh, *by which he was to relinquish his former pretences in relation to* England: notwithstanding before these Articles

[a] *God: Q. M. p.* 336.

[b] *Camd. Q. Eliz.* 1559. *p.* 43.

[c] *Camd.* 1560. *p.* 53.

were sealed, the King himself died, and so all things stood as they were before. The Q. of *Scots* being now a widow, returns with much ado to *Scotland*, which was all in a flame, by the seditious preaching of the new Reformists: As soon as she arrived there, [a] *Q. Eliz. sent to her to ratifie the Treaty begun with her Husband*; & she on the other side *prest to be declar'd* [b] *Heir of England by Parliament*; Nor could such an agreement seeme strange to her *English* well-willers, because our Histories could tell them, That *Maud the Empresse was necessitated to the like by King* Stephen. But *Queen Eliz.* would not hearken to that reasonable proposition; whereupon presently *Margaret, Niece to Henry the Eighth, the Earl of Lenox her Husband, Arthur Pool and his Brother, Grandchildren to George Duke of Clarence, Forteſcue and others, were apprehended, for intending to* [c] *set up the Queen of* Scots *interest.* The fact they confest; but (as all malefactors find something to extenuate their crime) they pitcht upon the weakest excuse that ever was heard of; *viz.* [d] *That they intended not to depose her Majesty, but to be beforehand in Arms, because Conjurers had told them she would dy that year.* After this, the vigilancy of Q. *Eliz.* was such

[a] *Camd. Q. Eliz.* 1561. p. 67.

[b] *Ib.*

[c] *Camd. beginning* 1562. p. 72.

[d] *Ib.*

and

and the disasters of *Scotland* so great, that the *Catholiques* were forc'd to sit quiet for a while. Instead of Peace with the Rebels, the Q. of *Scots*, was necessitated to *seek for shelter in England*, where had she been used, as the Honour of the Nation required, she would have concluded an inviolable agreement with the Queen; But when this Royal Guest had once trusted her self among her Enemies, she was both denied accesse to the Court, and also refused the liberty of retiring into another Kingdom.

This inhumanity was quickly noised about the World; whereupon *Pius V.* sent [a] *Ridulph* a *Florentine* to consult with the Catholiques about the Interest of their Queen; or (as *Cambden* expresses it) *to stir them up against Qu. Elizabeth.* All Arguments were used which could possibly be thought of, to perswade her Enemies to let her go; and within a while after, [b] the *Rising in the North happened.*

[a] *Camd.* 1568. *p.* 346.

[b] *Camd.* 1569. *p.* 164.

'Tis true, the *Declaration* of those great Lords that were up, mentioned no other motive but *Religion*; because this could not shock either the *Queen* or People so much, as the name of the *Qu.* of *Scots* would have done; for that implied *ipso facto* the altering both of *Religion* and

Government also. Who is ignorant that that Great man our late *General* (whose memory all ages shall honor) concealed at first what he had long determined, well knowing, that the once naming of the *King* would ruine that design, which his wit so well laid, and his conduct so happily executed? Besides this, Reader, you must know, before the said Rising happend, *Leonard Dacres* (second Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gysland*) *undertook the delivery of the Queen, being then in Derbyshire in my Lord Shrewsburie's* custody; of which *design my* [a] *Lord* Northumberland *was complotter* (as *Cambden* in Expresse termes has it) therefore 'tis plain, he being *Chief in the Northern Insurrection*, intended her Title, though there was nothing of it in his *Declaration*. Consider therefore how notoriously my Adversary has overshotten himself, there having been *Claims*, *Plots*, and *Endeavours* by the greatest of the Land *before the rising in the North*; and when that happened, 'twas also on the *Qu.* of *Scots* account.

[a] *Camd.* 1569. p. 160.

'Twere tedious, Reader, to tell you how many attempts followed this Insurrection; for there scarce passed a day, till the death of the Q. of *Scots*, but something

was

was contrived to prevent the machinations of her unnatural Kinswoman. By all this you may see, that while Q. *Eliz.* used her distressed Guest with any kindness, the piety of that Princesse (which moved her rather to be contented with the Succession, than put *England* in a perpetual broyl) caused her to command the *English Catholiques* to lie still; whom (according to my Adversary's own cõfession) *the prohibition of their Religion for ten years had not exasperated to take Armes.* But as soon as their Queen was imprisoned without hopes of liberty, and they left to the dictates of their own Loyal inclinations; they never ceased either at home or abroad to sollicite the destruction of her Enemies. Consider also, I beseech you the carriage of the Popes, who used all fatherly and gentle means imaginable, because they saw the Q. of *Scots*, whose right they deemed it was, of her selfinclining (like another *Maud*, as I said) to expect, till death should put an end to all pretences. [a] *These Popes were sufficiently urged by the Guises to Excommunicat Q. Eliz. & the like*; yet upon the former consideration (being desirous of peace) they never had practices against her, till *Mary Stuart* was in prison; nor ever publisht

[a] *Camb.* 1561. p. 68. & *else, where.*

the

the *Excommunication* (as may be seen in the
[a]*Camb.* said *Cambden*) till she absolutely refused [a]*the*
1570. *Frech and Spanish Embassadours, to let her goe.*
*p.*177. But my Adversary says, *the Popes owned Q. Elizabeth's Title*, and therefore *Papists* ought not to have disputed it. 'Tis true he says so, and yet confesses openly, that *Paul* the IV. (who governed the Church when she came first to the Crown) *would not acknowledge her Legitimate.* But how comes he to say, that the other cause of his *Holiness's* not acknowledging her, was, *because she audaciously assumed the Crown without his leave*? Does he find any such record in our Histories? Did *Qu. Mary* ask his consent? Did any *Pope* send in this manner to *Edward* the *Sixth*? Or lastly, which of all our Kings used to entreat his leave & favour to be Crowned? And by the way Reader observe what an abominable false Writer *Petrus Suavius* is, & how little there is to be rely'd on what he say's, since he dare's recount a thing, which our own *Protestant Authors* would have been so far from passing by in silence, that we should have found it in Capital letters every where. *Pius* 4th succeeding the said *Paul* (for the reasons aforesaid) shewd as much prudence and good nature as ever man did, in hope to compose things without

without effusion of blood: and certainly after his death, as much had been spilt, as ever was in any Reign, had not *Qu Eliz.* been the wisest woman that ever swayed Scepter. *Pius V.* followed the method of his Predecessors, and would have continued it, had not the barbarous usage of the *Queen* of *Scots* provok'd him to the aforemention'd Excommunication, and all hostile endeavours. His *Bull*, I know, speaks not of Bastardy in plain terms; yet with my Adversary's good leave, *the Pope* (in that very Bull) *calls Qu. Mary* [a] *Legitimate*; which saying, was as much against *Qu. Eliz.* as if he had us'd any other expression; For nothing is more certaine (as I urged before) than my Lord *Bacons* words, [b] *That the Legitimations of Qu.* Mary *and Qu.* Eliz. *were incompatible.*

[a] *Vid. Bull. Camb.* 1570. p. 180.

[b] H. 7. p. 206.

In this manner the *Popes* own'd her Right; and for the *Marriages which were offered her* (& to very much purpose forsooth urged) *from forreign Monarchs*, they prove it no more, than that Mrs. *Cleypole* had been truly our *Queen*, if *France*, *Spain*, or *the Emperor* had made love to her; and I believe no body doubts, but Suters would have flockt, had she been unmarried, and succeeded her Father.

Though

Though *Gregory XIII.* sent to invade *Ireland*, and *Sixtus V.* gave *England* to the *Spaniards*, yet I do not see, that this can touch us Catholicks in the least, though my Adversary thinks it a mighty Argument; For if the *French* King might invade *St. Christophers*, as he lately did, or any part else of our Dominions without drawing the *Name of Villain on him or his People*, Why may not the Pope (being *a Temporal Prince*) send forces to subdue what Country he pleases? The *Bishop* of *Munster*, for his smart endeavours against the *Hollanders* 1665. (when we were also in war with them) was never blamed, but on the contrary commended by us; and certainly the Pope is as absolute, and as good a man as he. Kings, you see, may fall upon their Neigbours themselves, and without breach of Morality, incite others to do the like, and while Popes are free *Princes*, they cannot be reproach'd for using that liberty, without great partiality and malice; but my Adversary handles all things hand over head, his intent being only to make a noise; for 'tis no advantage to him (in our present Dispute) to shew, what Kingdoms Popes over-run, or give away. That which he ought to prove was, *That it is an Article*

of

of Faith amongst us, to assist the Pope in every such invasion, or Gift. This had been to his purpose, but I have at large proved the contrary in the 6th *Reply*, & show'd [a p. 112] that the *English Catholiques* (who were Sufferers for their *Faith*) were so far from owning the *Pope's Donations* of our Dominions as a part of their *Faith*, that in the very Reigne of *Qu. Eliz.* (though she were condemn'd for a *Heretique*, & which was worse, an *Apostate*) they had bin in *Ireland* (by the very confessions of *Protestants*) faithfull in all the Invasions of *Spain*, or Sollicitations of *Popes*; & that the like is also acknowledged to have been done by them in *England*, even in that great & dangerous Expedition of 88; nor incurr'd they thereby any *Ecclesiastical penalties*, or reproach, but on the contrary no people are esteem'd by *Rome* it selfe to be better *Catholiques*. Besides we see at this moment, That the only Defence of the *Hollanders* from being over-run by a *Catholique Prince*, has bin the *House* of *Austria*, & all this without the least publique or private *Censure* of the *Church*, which has bin so great a Looser by the Action.

Now as to my Adversary's Query Whether after the Conquest of *Qu. Eliz.* the

the *Pope* or *Spaniard* intended to restore the Kingdom to the Q. of *Scots*, or her Heirs, I know not; but this I am sure of, that 'twas as probable, as that the *Hollanders* (who were assisted by the Arms of some Cavaliers, and the good wishes of us all) would have given King *Charles* the *Second*, possession of *England*, had they got it from the *Rump*.

Of Pope Clem: 8th's Breves.

If *Clement* the *Eighth* earnestly strove that *Qu. Elizabeth's* Successour should be a Catholique, I suppose no body can wonder at it; but the *Breves* of this *Pope* which advis'd our assisting (for that was all we could do) no body to the Crown but a Catholique, *though never so near in blood*, was so far from being a prejudice to K. *James*, that t'was intended for his Advantage; for *Reader* you must know (as you may finde the whol story in a *Sand.* a *Sanderson* & many other Writers) that there *K. I. p.* was a Letter sent to the said *Clement* (some 348. 2. or 3. yeares before our *Queen's* death) under the *King's* own hand & seale, by the Fraud, (as they said) of the *Scotch Secretary of State*; & therein (besides other matters) his *Majesty* gave his *Holinesse* assurance of his being a Catholique, or to that purpose, therfor these *Breves* could not be intended to put him by, whom the

Pope

Pope had already such confidence in: but their drift it seem's was against several *English* Pretenders, as my *Lord of Hertford* & others, descended from the blood *Royal*, & whom our nation seem'd far more propense to, having then a great Animosity against the Scotch.

So much then for this affaire, & now let us heare againe what he sayes of the *Papists* opposing this Princes's Succession, which was to this Effect; "*That they* (*according to Cambden*) *negotiated the Spanish Invasion*; That afterwards *they perswaded the Earl of* Derby *to pretend to the Crown*; *That* Doleman *alias* Parsons *wrot in the behalf of the* Infanta's *Title*; and to conclude, he will have it, *That the Catholicks of Scotland* (Huntly and others) *raised a powerful Rebellion against him.*

First, Concerning the Invasion, he says more than *Cambden* whom he quotes; [a] for he tell's us only, *that some English Fugitives did promote it*; & who know's not that Fugitives in all ages and in all Religiõs, machinate against those whom they call their Oppressors? and on the other side, who is ignorant, that many Papists (more considerable far than a few *Fugitives*) assisted the *Kingdom* in that War; & no wonder then

[a] *Camd.* 1588. *p.* 476.

that

that the Spanish Admiral threatn'd all the Catholiques of England, as I have already show'd you by my [a] *Adversary's* own confession.

[a] *Rep. 6. p. 113.*

Secondly, *if some of the Fugitives did perswade my Lord of Derby to pretend* to the Crown, it was, I say, done like *Fugitives*; but my Adversary forget's (as he often do's) that the Consequence of the accusation wounds his own Party; for if any *Papist* had such a foolish designe as to set up a *Protestant* Noble man, with so insignificant a Title, *It must, I am sure, have been performed by the Protestants themselves*; for the *Papists* had no power, not being able so much as to set up the *Qu.* of *Scots*, who had so plausible a right, & wanted not the assistance of the *Pope*, *Spaniard* and all the *Guisian Faction*. But Reader, this Earle was not poison'd (*as my Adversary would have it*) for *Stow* has a Diary and the Particulars of his sickness, and in short says [b] *The causes of all his diseases were thought by Phisitians, partly a surfet, and partly distempering himselfe with vehement exercise 4. days together in Easter weeke.*

[b] *Stow. Q. Eliz. 1594. p. 767.*

Thirdly, For *Dolemans* Book, who wrot it, God knows, *Parsons* denied it at his death; and I believe he was not the

the Authour, because in several of his works he speaks very much to the advantage of K. *James*. Moreover, he was one of far more wit than to write so foolish a thing: for was not that man strangely simple, that would dedicate his Book to my Ld. of *Essex* (as *my Adversary* would have it) to prick forward an ambitious man, and yet the whole matter of the Treatise is to prefer the *Infanta's* Title before all persons whatsoever. But, if this kind of arguing be lawful, that the errours of some unknown persõs, must be laid to a whole Party, how miserable would the Protestants themselves be, when we come to try them by the same Touchstone! I will not stoop to so mean and insignificant a Topick, but tell you what Protestants still alive can testifie, viz. *That in the latter end of the Queens Reign, My Lord of* Hertfords *Title was often cried up to Tumults in the streets*: Nor had that a slight impression (he being after the *Stuarts* next Heir to the Crown) on many a wellmeaning man, by reason of the National aversion to a stranger. Nay *some*[a] *Members of Parliament* (*after the King's admission, said openly in the House* (as *Osborn* recounts) *That no people endued with Natural desire of Preservation would admit*

[a] *Hist Mem. K. 1. p.* 104. & 105.

admit a Prince of a beggerly Nation to Reign over them, how juſt ſoever his claim were; for fear of looſing their propriety, as dear as life it ſelf, and as vigorously to be defended. By this therefore, *Reader*, may be ſeen the rancour of the *Reformed* againſt the *King's* coming in; ſince they durſt ſay ſuch things even after his reception: and had not the laſt *Earl* of *Pembroke* wiſely pocketted up *Ramſey's* twitching at *Newmarket*, (when the irritated people cried, (as it is in the ſaid Author) *Let us breakfaſt with the* Scots *here, and dine with the reſt at* London) 'twas very probable that day might have been as fatal to the *King*, as the fifth of *November* could have proved; Papiſts therefore it ſeems were not his only Enemies.

Concerning *Huntly's* Rebellion, my Adverſary I am ſure has doubly injur'd himſelfe in mentioning it; for firſt (accor-
a *Anno* 1589. ding to a *Camden* whom he again cites) *Their riſing was to help the* Spaniards *againſt* Q. Eliz. *who had put to death their Queen*; nor were ever formal *Plotters* ſo gently dealt with; for the King was pleas'd, after he had taken them, *to let them all go*, (as the ſaid
b *Ibid.* b *Author* tell's us) which argues that he knew theſe Papiſts had no malice againſt him. Nay, his Majeſty is pleaſed to ſay in his

his [a] *Basilicon Doron*, *That the Puritans had put out many Libelling Invectives against all Christian Princes, which beeing only answered by Papists, the scandal* (as he might well say) *was doubled*; for they were the Reformed (we see) who calumniated, and the Catholiques their sole Opposers. Secondly, If the *Rebellion* (let it have been as bad as may be) of these *Lords* of another Country, & of another age, must touch us the present *Catholicks* of *England*, what a blow would it be to the Reformed Religion, should I repeat the [b] *Scots unparallel'd actions against their Queen*; [c] *Bothwell's attempts to destroy this King*; & lastly, (omitting the continual slavery his Majesty was in) *the* down right *Conspiracie* of the *Gowries against his life*; of which *Sanderson* has all the particulars.

Having thus gone through the Paragraph, I must come to the nicest Question of all; and nice, I may call it, because it is conjectural only. *It is, Whether if the Qu. of Scots had been a Protestant, we should have stickled for her? and if Qu. Eliz. had not been thought illegitimate, whether nevertheless we had not rebelled against her?* To the first, I say *Yes*, viz. We had sided with the Q. of *Scots*, had she been Protestant; To the second, *No*, That the Papists would not

[a] *Prolog. or Epist. to the Read.* p. 133.

[b] *Heyl. Hist. Presb. lib.* 5.

[c] *Camb. Anno* 1591. & 1593.

[d] *Sand: K: Iam.* 1599. p. 225, & 342.

have opposed Q. *Eliz.* had they thought her legitimate: & out of my Adversary's own words, I'l make it plainly appear: For if according to him, *the Papists would have set up two Protestants* (the Lords *Derby* and *Essex*) who in reality had no right, then I say, 'tis certain they would willingly have embraced the Title of the *Stuarts*, that carried so fair a shew. To the second I answer, *That they would never have opposed* Qu. Eliz. *had she been thought Legitimate: For if* (as he urged in the beginning) *they obeyed her*, whom they thought an Usurper; *for ten years* (though she had utterly destroyed their Religion) 'tis then more than probable, had her Title been good in their opinion, they had submitted; *let her Faith have been what it would.* These doubts being thus resolved by him, that proposed them (who cares not perchance if he can wound us for the present, into what contradictions at last he runs himself) I may, I hope (since he hath shewed me the way) propose a *Query* also; and I shall thank him, if out of my *Reply* he gives the Solution.

I will not urge my Question so far as to suppose the Q. of *Scots had been a Protestant*, but my demand shall be singly this,

Whether

Whether the Reformed in those days would have quietly obey'd Qu. Eliz. had she stood up for the Catholick Religion? Reader, because my Adversary is not yet ready to answer, I will tell you my opinion, which is, that I think they would not; and doubtlesse this conjecture is not rash, when we consider what has been done here, and recorded by our Protestant Historians themselves. Have we not seen that (for the safety of Religion) *Ed:* 6. gave away by the advice of his Councel the Kingdom to *Jane Grey*? and what Bees could be so busie as *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, with many thousands more, to set up (against their lawful Q. *Mary*) that poor Lady, who had not right enough by blood, and much lesse if she depended wholly upon the King's Will, & Testament; for that was void from the beginning, according to the known Laws of the Land? How many treasonable Books were written against this Queen after she came to the Crown, by Mr. [a] *Goodman* and others, asserting, *That she ought to be put to death as a Tyrant, Monster and cruel Beast*, as may be seen in *Bancrofts Dangerous position*? Nor did these *Book-men* faile in their designe; for there were never known in any Nation, or age so many Conspiracies against a Governour, as against this

How the English Protestants deale with our Popish Princes.

[a] *Of Obedience* p. 103.

innocent & good Princesse by the *Protestant Party*, even according to the account of their own *Historians*. And these traytorous Practices were not only of all kinds, & men too of all rancks, & degrees Complotters there in, but the greatest & most dangerous of them were before any man suffered for his Conscience, even before the very sanguinary Laws themselves were reviv'd, as I show'd you[a] before. Nay when *William Thomas* (who had been Clerk of the Councel to *Edw:* the 6th) was[b] hang'd at Tyburne for conspiring her Death, *Stow* tell's us, *that he said he died for his Countrey*; so that to kill a Prince is to dye for ones Countrey in the primitive *Protestant* Dialect.

[a] *Rep.* 11 *p.* 196.

[b] *Stow. Q. M. anno* 1554. *p.* 624.

Q. Scots died only for Religion.

But now I must descend to a far more tragical example, even to the death of the so often mentioned Q. of *Scots*, who lost her life barely upon the account of her *Religion*. 'Tis true *Qu. Elizabeth* considered her own safety, but the fury of the *Nobility* and people, (without whose incitement there was no beheading her) was purely for fear she might survive the sayd *Queen* (whose undoubted Successour she was) & so change Religion as the former *Queen Mary* had done before. This any man may gather out of *Cambden*, who was not only a Protestant, but the fam'd

fam'd Annaliſt of thoſe times: For he tells us, that after *Babingtons Conſpiracy*, in the conſultation what ſhould be done with the Royal Priſoner, ſome were for holding her in ſafe cuſtody, *but others out of care of* [a] *Religion would have her tried and executed.* In purſuance then of this advice, she was condemned, and the next Parliament the Houſe petitioned for the execution of her Sentence, the firſt reaſon in their ſupplicate beeing *for the preſervation of the true* [b] *Religion of Chriſt*; and after they had told *Queen Elizabeth* alſo of her own danger, they harpt again upon the former ſtring,, deſiring her to remember Gods fearful judgments upon *Saul* and *Ahab*, for their ſparing *Agag*, & *Benhadad*, two wicked and profane Idolaters. In fine, when the fatal day came, though they were ſo very ſevere as to deny her (being a ſtranger, and a free Princeſſe) what all Embaſſadours have, *viz.* a Prieſt to aſſiſt her at her death, she was again recomforted, when she knew by the *Earl* of *Kent*, that she died for her Faith: for he told her, *that her life would be the deſtruction of their* [c] *Religion.*

[a] *Camb.* 1586. *p.* 413.

[b] *Camb.* 1586. *p.* 432.

[c] *Camb.* 1587. *p.* 435.

Reader, I muſt now end, yet cannot but firſt ask this Queſtion, viz. If the Reformed

have for defence of their *Religion* effected the death of their *Queen*, or at least undoubted *Heir*; and if they did set up *Jane Grey*, that had no title, because their lawful *Sovereigne was Catholic*, who have been (I would fain know) in *England* more faulty they or we? Pray what advantage has my Adversary got by loading us thus with crimes, & principles, which his own Party are so guilty of? And if (as he urges you see in the beginning) we *obey'd Qu. Elizabeth ten years without fear*, it shews that Papists can be obedient to a Prince of another Religion, though they doubt his right, whenas Protestants would commit any action rather than permit a Catholick to govern, let their Title be never so just. I must therefore invoke both *Angels* and Men to consider our wrong, who are termed traytorous in our Principles, even to this day; Nor can there be a more superlative injustice than to incense the World against us, as if our *Religion* taught nothing but blood, & their's all the gentleneſſe imaginable. We in our own persons have shewed all the duty that men can fancy, and for our Ancestors you have heard their Plea; If it be bad, they have justly sufferd; if otherwise, let them

them Reader feel your anger, who would deceive you thus with Tales; and remeber, that 'tis not possible for a Religion, which governed *England* with glory so many years, to teach a Doctrine destructive to Princes, or infuse Maxims that will breed commotions among the people.

XXIII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

'Twas for the Royal House of *Scotland* that they suffered in those days, and 'tis for the same illustrious Family we are ready to hazard all on any occasion.

23. Answer.

Sir, We have found you notoriously false in that which you affirm: Pray God you prove true in that which you promise. To this Reader you expect I hope no Reply.

XXIV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Nor can the consequence of the former procedure be but ill, if a *Henry* the *Eighth* (whom *Sir Walter Rawleigh* and my Lord *Cherbury*, two famous Protestants, have so homely characterized) should after twenty years co-habitation, turn away his wife, and this out of scruple of Conscience (as he said) when as History declares, that he never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his lawlesse fury.

24. Answer.

24. Answer.

This Character, he says, *agrees better with some Heads of our Church, then with King* Henry *the Eighth, of whom better Historians* (*naming* Thuanus) *say better things: but if he were such a Monster, 'twas for want of a better Religion, for he was of ours, except in the point of Supremacy; and therefore I have no reason to flurt at him, except having undertaken to colour Treasons, I think 'tis something towards it, to besputter Kings. I use*, he says, *the same Art in the next Paragraph to excuse the Powder-Treason, calling it a misdemeanour, the fifth of* November, *a Conjuration, all soft words, but deal hardly with the great Minister of State, whom I make the Author of it, as if the State had conspired against the Traytors, not the Traytors against the State. Then in his Exordium of the Powder-Plot* he tell's us *that the Rise of all was from the fore-mention'd Breves of* Clement 8; *& how it was discovered by my Lord* Mounteagles *Letter, as also how the Jesuites* Baldwin, Hammond, Tesmond *and* Gerrard *were named by the Conspirators as privy with them.*

After this account he recites *the whole story of the said Plot*, Which for Brevity's sake I here omit, since 'tis not only

to

to be found in every Book that treat's of *King James*, but well known to all Protestants by being so often proclamd in the Pulpit; yet in my answering each charge, I must, whether I will or no, trouble you with a Repetition. Let us then at present Reader consider a little the Reigne of *Hen.* the 8th, whom you see my Adversary sayes *I slurt at*, & consequently how respectful & tender the Protestant Party is of his Memory.

24. *Reply.*

First, *if the Character agrees better with many Heads of our Church*, I say in God's name, let it be given them: but I much admire how *Thuanus* comes to be called a better Historian in *English* affaires than Sr. *W. Rawleigh*, or my Lord *Cherbury*, whom we poor *English men* thinke very excellent. But why do I trouble you with these strange Evasions; for 'tis his custome when he finds (as he fancy's) a present Expedient, not to care though it be to his ruine in the next page. What I have said of *Hen.* 8th. I can prove out of these two famous *Protestant Authors*; & as for Sr *Walter Rawleigh*, he makes him to be the [a] *Tyrant of Tyrants*, though Father to his admir'd Mistresse Q. *Elizabeth*. What

Protestants expressions of H. 8.

[a] *Vid. Pref. to the Hist. of the World.*

What *Papist* also can more Satyrically describe his Licentiousnesse, than *Sr John* [a] *Denham* has done; who speaking of the *Religious Houses* destroy'd by him, says,

[a] Coper's Hil.

Tell me, my Muse what monstrous dire offence,
What crime could any Christian Prince incense
To such a Rage, was't Luxury, or Lust;
Was He so Temperate, so Chaste, so Just?
Were these their Crimes? they were his own much more,
But wealth is crime enough to him that's poor;
Who having spent the Treasures of the Crown,
Condemn's their Luxury to feed his own;
And yet this Act, to varnish o're the shame
Of Sacrilege, must beare Devotions *name.*

Nay, omitting the unexpressable foul language of *Luther* the Saint (as *Fox* has made him) the Bishop of *Hereford*, a Prelat of the Loyal Churchof *England*, whose Members (as my Adversary insinuats) are so respectfull to Kings, that God forbid they should offer to *Flurt* at them: I say this *Bishop* not only call's him, [b] *Unsatiable, glutted with one, & out of variety seeking to enjoy another; & that his vices branded him deeply with the foule stains of Luxury and Cruelty*, but also put's this

[b] Bp. God. H. 8. p. 142. Ib. p. 2.

this Scriptural Sentence under his Pic- a p. 1.
ture, *Regem dedi iratus ire*, which includes all the ill that can be said of a Ruler, & shows that God gave him as a plague & curse to the Nation. But when should I end, were I to repeat all the harsh taunts, & reproaches he has had frō *Reformed* Writers, both of the *Layity*, & *Clergy* also: nevertheleſſe thoſe already mention'd prove ſufficiently (though the Expreſſion in the Apology, *of his ſparing no woman in his Luſt, nor man in his Fury*, had not bin ſo long common & proverbial) that our *Engliſh Proteſtants* make it his juſt & due Character.

Of H. 8. his decay in Grandeur, ſoone as he left the Church.

And now Reader give me leave to acquaint you, that the *Seaſonable Diſcourſe* having complain'd much of the ſlavery of Catholic Princes, I anſwer'd in theſe words (which are now in effect in the b *Preface* of this preſent *Treatiſe*) „ c That „ we needed not travel beyond ſea for an „ example of the Splendor & Greatneſſe „ of Popiſh Potentats, ſeing *Hen:* the 8th „ himſelfe was eſteemed over all the „ world, ten times more conſiderable be„ fore, than after his Revolt from *Rome*, „ though he had the whole Prey of the „ Church for his further ſupport and „ maintenance. Wherupon my Adverſary

b p. 10.

c *Anſwr. to the Seaſon. Diſc.* p. 6.

in

in his *Reasonable Defence*, reply's thus; *That all the World was a large Word*; & *that I shall scarce ever finde them all of the same minde with my most improbable Doctorship*. Then he tell's us, *if there were a decay in the King's Reputation & Interest toward his End* (*which happens almost to every Monarch*) *Persons every whit as wise as I, assigne causes very different from mine*; as first, *the Removal of Wolsey*, 2ly. *His frequent marriages & Divorces*; 3ly. *The Popes Thunder-bolt* (*which I should have thought on, he says*) *follow'd with several dangerous Rebellions*; *so that if he appeard not afterwards much abroad, we may be thanked for it, who cut him out so much worke at home.*

The Cramdam of H. 8. whilst a Papist.

Certainly I might well instance in the strange decay of this King's Grandure & Glory, as soon as he fell from the Church, since no body (that I know) ever questiond it before, but on the contrary many (though Protestant) affirme it; for *Baker* has these words; „ a He was „ (sayes he) a Prince of so many good „ parts that one would wonder he could „ have any ill, & indeed he had not many „ ill, 'till *Flattery*, & *ill Counsel in the latter end got the upper hand of him*. *James Howel* also (in his *analitical Character* before my *Ld. Herbert's* History) makes

a *Bak. H.* 8. p. 318

makes him Master of all naturall & artificial Endowments, & gives us these & many more examples of the *Fame* & *Honour* he purchas'd in the World, as *That he was the first King that ever had the title of* DEFENDER *of the* FAITH, *that He was stiled by the Consistory & Roman People* LIBERATOR URBIS; *that Francis the first of France acknowleg'd him under God, the Chiefe* DELIVERER *of him & his* CHILDREN; *that he had an* EMPEROUR *to serve him; that he was the common* UMPIRE *of* CHRISTENDOME, *&c.* all which Glory you must know *Reader* was acquired whilst he was a *Catholic*; nor could this Author in his *Poeticall* recapitulation of his *Galantries* in the next page, but thus conclude,

Or had his Set been equal to his Rise,
Of all the glorious Kings wore England's Crown
He had marcht with the foremost in Renown.

But what Writer can be more plain than the *Bp.* of [a] *Hereford* as to this point; for he begins the Kings Hiſtory with mighty praiſes of his *Endowments*, & with Commendations of *his wiſe & virtuous* (Catholique) *Tutors & Overſeers in his youth;*

[a] *Bp. God: H 8. p. 1. a.*

youth; & then presently tell's us, That if „ the *end of his Reign had bin answerable to* „ *the beginning*, *Hen: the* 8th *might deservedly* „ *have bin rancked among the greatest of* „ *our Princes*; for (say's he) if you consider „ *the first* 20. *yeares*, you shall not easily „ finde any one that either more happily „ manag'd affaires abroad, or governd „ more wisely at home, or bore greater sway „ among his neighbour Princes: but „ making use afterwards, of no Coun„ sellor but his Will, he fell into those „ Vices, *which notwithstanding the Glory* „ *of his former Reigne*, branded him deeply „ with the foul staines of *Luxury* & „ *Cruelty*. So much then *for his Decay in temporal Power*, & now let us consider the 3. Reasons given of it, which are the Oddest perchance that ever were heard of, especially to his purpose, that would have Obedience to the *Apostolique See*, a lessening of the Grandure of Princes. For, *the Incumberance brought on the King by his frequent Marriages & Divorces*; *as also Wolsey's Removal* (if that will passe with any man for a *Reason*) were the effects only of his leaving the *Church*; nor would either of them have happend had he contin'd in it's Communion, the Cardinal's fall proceeding solely (as all Writers have it) frō his

his underhand crossing *Qu: Katherine's* Divorce, & the intended Marriage with *Anne of Bullen.* But this is usual with my *Adversary* (as I have often showd you) to urge reasons directly against himselfe; & this & the like mishap wee shall find I beleeve in his last Cause, to wit *the Popes Thunder-bolt* (as he call's it) *& the several Rebellions in the Nation thereupon, which cut* (forsooth) *the King out so much worke, at home.*

First, concerning the Excommunication, 'tis nothing to us, nor could any man expect otherwise, it being the custome of *Christians* in all ages, *to deliver them to Satan*, that seperat themselves from the *Church*, & rent the *seamlesse Coat of Christ*; but as for the Rebellions harpt upon, what *Protestant Historian* (I would faine know) ever made them a Reason of the King's thus flagging; yet though my *Adversary* be a *Politician* (& may therefore thinke his owne Authority sufficient) I must with permission tell him, that in my simple judgment, 'twas impossible to mention a thing that more manifests the *Patience & entire Submission of Catholiques to God, & their Suppressing of their own natural Passions & Revenge.* For what is so usual among men from the highest to

Of the Risings in H.8. Reigne.

the

the lowest in all Countries, when Grievances are universal, as to seek at last a Redresse by force? & who can imagin, if any of our Kings should make null *Magna Charta* by violence, but the whole Nation would be in an uproar? Nevertheless you must know, Reader that (though *Hen:* the 8th had caus'd such confusions through the Kingdom) there was not an insurrection made by men of any Quality, only a Rout of Pesants got together, who never yet so much as fought a battail with the King's Forces. Nay Bp. *Godwin* speaking of the *York-shire Insurrection* which was the greatest & far the most dangerous of them all, sayes thus;

[a] *God. H. 8. 1538. p. 149.*

„ [a] Against the Rebels were sent the Dukes „ of *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, the Marquis of „ *Exeter*, & the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, who „ endeavour'd peaceably to compose all „ matters, & bring this corrupt Body, to „ its former temper, without Phlebotomy, *for they knew they were to deale „ with such a base sort of People, that though „ they conquer'd them, yet would their victory be inglarious*; so that it plainly appeare's the *Nobility* & *Gentry* were far from beeing Ringleaders of these Tumults. The others that follow'd were not pretended upon the account of Religion; for my

Lord

Lord *Herbert* having mention'd *Musgrave's* attempt on *Carliſle*, & *Bigot's* on *Hull*) thus continues. „ a For which „ *Inſurrections*] (ſayes he) & ſome leſſer „ that follow'd, I finde yet no Reaſon „ deliver'd, *but that the People were unſatisfied, becauſe a Parliament was not held „ at* Yorke *according to Expectation*; & *that „ the* Duke *of* Norfolke *had Orders ſecretly, „ (notwithſtanding the* Pardon) *to chaſtiſe the Principal Offenders.* And then he tell's us of ſome few that were executed, & among others the Lords *Darcy* & *Huſſey*; whenas *Darcy* had bin taken Priſoner by the Rebels, & forced, (as ſeveral others were) paſſively to go along with them. And this the Rabble did to countenance the better their Procedings; & therefore for the more grandure & State, whilſt *Aske* their chief Captain gave audience to the Herald, this Lord was on one hand of him, & the *Biſhop* of *Yorke* on the other; but though the reſt, that had bin thus conſtrain'd, were never queſtion'd afterwards, yet *Darcy* went to Pot, being a popular man, & one whom the King had a particular pique againſt. The ſame fate attended *Huſſey*, accus'd of under-hand dealing in the late *Lincoln-ſhire* Riot, but none of quality, as I ſayd, were Heads, or Ring-

a *Herb.* *H.* 8. 1537. 427.

leaders in these Tumults of Religion; though the King (humanely speaking) had given as much provocation, as could be imagind.

Of the Risings in Ed. 6. Reign.

In the like manner it happend in *Edward* the 6th's Reigne with the *Devonshire Clowns*, who had not patience to bear the *Protector's* Alterations both in Church & State, whilst the King was yet a Child; for though they were up, they had no body among them of any fashion or Worth, except *Captain Arundell*; in so much that the said Bp: *Godwin* use's this expression; [b] *I cannot sufficiently wonder what drove him to associat himselfe with this desperat & unruly Rabble.* Thus Reader we see the Resignation of all *Catholiques* either of any *Power*, or *Quality*, to the will of *God*; for no body is to be responsible for the madnesse or Capricio of *an unruly Rabble*; I say thus wee see the Resignation & Patience of our Catholique Ancestors to God's Will, never offering (in so great a devastation & ruine) to oppose their *Reform'd Princes* by Armes. But who would not have thought by my Adversary's Cry, That all the *Papists* of those times had been Rebells beyon'd measure, whilst the *Reform'd* have ever since their rise prov'd the very

[b] *God: Ed. 6. 1549. 133.*

very Pinks of Courtesie, & Quintessēce of all loyalty & obedience. This one would have imagin'd, though the direct cōtrary appeares out of their owne *Records*; For (instead of our beeing inconsistent with Government) there has not been one *Protestant Monarch* (& of their violent deaths I have spoken already) that has not been actualy dethron'd by his Protestant Subjects, or at least in danger of it. For *first* in *Edw:* the 6th's time *KET the Tanner* & his Complices, from pulling down *Inclosures* would have pulled down the Crown, as Sr. [b] *John Cheek* testifies, who writing against them sayes, They *pretended to a Common wealth*; so that if this Arch-Rebel had succeeded against the King's forces under the *Earl* of *Warwick*, as he did against those commanded by the *Marquis* of *Northampton*, the *Lords Sheffield, Wentworth*, &c. his Majesty would have soon felt the great Blessings of *Reformation*; & you must know Reader, *that the said Ket had an Oake* (under which he did *Justice*, & where his *Chaplain Conyers* show'd his Talent in *Preaching*) *that was termed* (as [c] *Speed* tell's us) *the Oake of Reformation*. In the next place *Qu. Eliz.* was in no little peril by my Lord of *Essex* & his party, who not only arrested her very

[a] *Rep.* 1. *p.* 185.

[b] *Hol. Ed.* 6. *p.* 1043.

[c] *Sp. Ed.* 6. *p.* 833.

Counsellors, & broke into open Rebellion, but was so belov'd by the People, as to be universalylamented, & bewaild, (as all Writers have it) though he died for so notorious a Treason; which also shows by the way, that her Majesty was more beholden to the Casual affection of her Subjects (a thing soon lost god wot) than to the true Principles of their Religion. *King James*, we know, succeded, but was hardly on his Throne, when the *Lord Cobham*, *the Lord Grey*, & Sr. W. *Rawleigh* (persons in the Queen's time of high authority & power) would have depos'd him, & set up the *Lady Arabella*; & to play their game the better in *Spain* (from whence they hop'd for aid) they drew two factious Priests into the Plot, who were justly hang'd for their Labour. As for the usage of our present King & his Father, I wish it were written in Sand, in stead of being engraven in Brasse, as it is now every where, to the eternal dishonour of the nation.

So much then at this time for the unspotted Loyalty of *Protestants*, who can it seem's, (though Members of the *Church of England*) not only *flurt at their Protestant Kings*, but do more also, if they finde it for their turne. And whereas my

Ad

Adversary sayes, *that* Hen: *the* 8th *was of our Religion, except in the point of Supremacy*; it may then serve as a pertinent & pious Caveat to men of all Degrees & Conditions, from breaking the *chaine* of *Christian Unity*, seing one of the mightiest Kings we ever had, either for Power or Glory, fell presently to nothing (as our Enemies themselves have observed & recorded) as soon as ever he became Independent.

The *four* next Sections, *Reader*, are concerning the *Powder Treason*, which when you have well consider'd, together with my Adversary's full Charge, the Reply shall follow in one entire Discourse.

XXV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Now for the fifth of *November*, with hands lifted up to Heaven, we abominate and detest it.

25. Answer.

Here he asks, *Whether it be the Festival, or the Treason we abominate and detest. If the first, he says, he will believe us without lifting up our hands; If the Treason, he asks*

why we do not call it so; which while we cannot afford to do, lifting up our hands will never perswade him we abominate and detest it.

XXVI. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

And from the bottom of our hearts say, may they fall into irrecoverable perdition, who propagate that faith by the blood of Kings, which is to be planted in truth and meeknesse only.

26. Answer.

He says, *I should be cautious of throwing such Curses, for fear of hitting our Father the Pope; as the Philosopher told the son of a common woman, that threw stones among a multitude.*

XXVII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

But let it not displease you (*Men, Brethren, and Fathers*) if we ask whether *Vlysses* be no better known? or who has forgot the Plots of *Cromwel*, framed in his Closet, not only to destroy many faithful Cavaliers, but also to put a lustre upon his Intelligence, as if nothing could be done without his knowledge? Even so did the then great Minister, who drew some few Desperados into this conjuration, and then discovered it by a Miracle.

27. Answer.

27. Answer.

Here he calls me Apostle and Poet, full of Gravity, and Fiction. Then he says, I would make the World believe they were drawn into this Plot by Cecil; *yet am so wise, as not to offer to prove it, but would steal it in by the example of* Cromwel. *Again, he says (admitting this for true) they were Traytors nevertheless in doing what they did, had there been no* Cecil *in the World: and therefore the excuse only implies, they had not wit to invent it, though they wanted not malice to execute it; for according to my Illustration, as the Cavaliers whom* Cromwel *drew in, had their Loyalty abused, and were nevertheless faithful still; so the Powder-Traytors (whom* Cecil *drew in) had their disloyalty out-witted, and were nevertheless Traytors still: For 'tis clear, by being drawn in, both parties were sufficiently disposed for it. What I lay upon* Cecil, *he says is a groundless and an impudent Fiction, which I am properly the Author of; for no body ever spoke of it before but in raillery. He asks by what Tradition or Revelation I received it sixty years after the fact, whereas neither* King James, *nor* Bellarmine, *nor the Apologists of that age knew anything of it. He desires to know who were* Cecils

setters

setters, that would be hanged, that his art might not be suspected, for none were saved; and Garnet *said, he would give all the World to clear his name and Conscience of the Treason. These are strong presumptions for the Negative of* Cecils *having no hand in t'e Plot: but he says, there is only my bare word for the affirmative; which if it be enough, here is a never-failing Topic to write Apologies for any Villainy,* viz. *that the then great Minister of State drew them in. In Queen* Elizabeths *days we had a higher game to flie at, to wit, her Title to the Crown; but durst not make so bold with King* James, *otherwise we had not stoopt at so low a Quarry as a Minister of State. He says farther, that I strive to diminish the Plot, by calling the Plotters* Desperadoes, *who could not be called so by reason of Poverty, because their Estates were great; nor by reason of discontents, for there was not a man, as King* James *said, that could pretend a cause of grief. If the cause was, because they had not all they desired, it is so far from excusing them, that it gives occasion to suspect me. I ought, he says, to call the Discovery a Miracle, because King* James *named it so, and especially since* Bellarmine *acknowledged it so: but 'tis no wonder, that I, who will not call the Plot Treason,*

will

will not allow the Discovery to be a Miracle.

XXVIII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

This will easily appear, *viz.* how little the Catholique Party understood the design, seeing there were not a score of guilty found, though all imaginable industry was used by the Commons, Lords, and Privy-Councel too.

28. Answer.

He says, *few understood the very design, for 'twas not safe nor needfull to tell it to many; but Papists generally knew there was one, and pray'd for the successe of it: & though but a score were in the Plot* (viz. 5. *Jesuits* 13. *Laymen besides Owen & Stanley*) *yet fourscore appeared in Rebellion; nor is it probable so small a number could think to do much by surprising Princesse* Elizabeth, *unlesse they expected other assistance. But Treason, he says, is hated by all, when unsuccesseful; & so concludes with the coil we kept with* Garnet's Straw, *with our hanging* Gerard's *Picture among the Martyrs* at la Flesche; & *with his Holinesses good will to* Tesmond *in making him Penitentiary at St. Peter's.*

Having thus given you *Reader* his charge

charge, with all its exaggerations, & flourishes, be pleas'd to know that though I publickly answerd all things full six years agoe, in the former Editions of this *Reply* (a repetition of which you shall presently have) yet none of our *Protestant Writers* (the matter being too plain perchance to be deny'd) were pleas'd so much as to touch upon it, 'till Dr *Stillingfleet* was forced to enter the Lists in his last[a] *Gun-powder Treason Sermon*. To the end therfor you may see all that this great Champion can say, even after his utmost endeavours (for 'twas before the *House* of *Commons* he preacht) I shall here present you with his Story.

[a] *Anno* 1673.

He says, *He well know's what sheep's cloathing has lin cast on this barbarous Action, by the* REPLY *to the Answer of the Papist's* APOLOGY, *& by the* ADVOCAT *for liberty of* CONSCIENCE, *& that men by their Impudence, would bear us down, that it was the Project only of a few male-contents drawn in by a crafty States-man, so that it ought not either in Justice or Honour to be imputed to the Principles of their Religion*: all which he proves to be vain by these three Particulars.

First, *by those engaged, who had no Personal Provocation*; for Catesby, Piercy, Tresham, & Digby, *had nothing particularly*

larly againſt King or Parliament, each of them enjoying his Eſtate, with all that was dear to him; & beſides, one of them was alſo a Courtier. Had they bin Bankrupts under Confiſcations, or in danger of their throats, high Spirits (he thinks) *might have grown deſperate, but not a tittle of this was pretended by them, only Zeal of Religion, as* King James *in his* Speech *affirmes, avowing alſo to the whole Chriſtian World, that he had ſuſpended Penalties, abated rigorous Executions, & ſet their Prieſts at Liberty &c.* Then the Doctor tell's us; *that ſome who think it a fine thing to talke out of the Common Road, & to be thought more skilfull in myſteries of State than other men, ſay* that a great States man drew in *a few Gentlemen into this Plot, but he deſires to underſtand from whence they derive this profound Intelligence after ſo many yeares; for neither* K. James, *nor the then* Popish Writers, & Apologiſts *intimate any thing of it. The newes,* He ſayes, *of this Danger, the inquiſitiveneſſe of all men, the concernment of* Papiſts (*& eſpecially the* Jeſuits) *to wipe of the Stain, & throw it on* the great Miniſter, *ſhould have given at leaſt ſome ſuſpition of the Trapan, which was never done;* Wherefor he concludes, *that if we go on thus, we ſhall make at laſt the King & Parliament Papiſh, & the Plotters Proteſtants.*

The

The Doctor's 2d. Particular is, *That the Plotter's motives were from the Principles of their Religion, it being rooted in them from* Pius the 5th's *Bull against* Q. Eliz, *That the Pope had power to depose heretical Princes, so that they made no scruple in destroying her; Yet 'till* Garnet's *Provincialship, nothing was declar'd against her Successor, & then* Clem: 8th's *Brieves came out; wherein 'twas declar'd, that if the Catholiques suspected him, 'twas lawfull to keep him from the Crown. These Breves* (he says) *were shown Catesby by Garnet; Who also resolv'd his difficulty, determining that the Innocent & Guilty might be together destroyd, if it were for the greater good; so that Widdrington observes, that upon those 2. grounds, Catesby laid the whole Conspiracy.* After this the *Doctor* informs us, *that Tesmond the Jesuit discours'd of the whole matter with Garnet in More-fields, not in Confession, & yet had it bin under that tye*, he wonders *why Treason might not be discover'd in Confession as well as Heresie, which our Casuists*, he says, *grants may be done.* In fine (according to his account) *the Iesuits gave the Sacraments upon the Oath of Secresie, absolved them after the Discovery, pray'd for the successe, & comforted them, after it was discovered, by examples of men that had faild in good Designes; therfor* the Doctor *deem's it unrea-*

unreasonable, to think a few Laicks were only concern'd, or that 'tis nothing to our Church.

The Doctor's 3rd Particular is, *That the Church of Rome did never detest the Principles upon which the Traytors acted, nor set any marke of Infamy on the Actors. On the contrary,* he sayes, *the same Doctrine is still avowed, & the Conspirators Persons honourd, Garnet's name being (as Widdrington affirms) inserted in the English Martyrology, & that his Bones were kept for Reliques, & his Image set over Altars as a Martyr.* Then he shows us *how Church & State vindicated the honour of the protestant Religion on the late Parricides of Charles the First, both by executing their Persons, & declaring against the Principles that led them to it; Wou'd as Paul the 5th, by all he can see, had our Plot succeded, would have admir'd the Providence of God in it, as much as Sixtus the 5th did in the murther of Hen: the third of France; & this* (he think's) *he may well guesse to be the Popes minde, by his publishing Bulls against the Oath of Allegeance, which the King was forc'd to impose upon us for his Security. Besides this,* He sayes, *that Bellarmin told the King plainly; That if he would be secure he must give Liberty to their Religion; & that the Pope prefer'd two of the Jesuits that had bin Conspirators, making one of them his Penitentiary, and the other Confessarius in St*

Peters,

Peters; *all which shows how our Church detests such Practices.*

This is *Dr Stillingfleets* whole accoût of the buſineſſe in hand; but who would not have expected an Anſwer from him, to what I have already reply'd to my Adverſary; eſpecially ſince he confeſſes he has perus'd my *Reply*, & the *Advocat for Liberty of Conſcience*, a Book lately publisht, that has reurg'd thoſe very Arguments, & made uſe of many other Particulars out of the ſaid *Reply*. But ſince the *Dr.* follows ſtill his wonted method, viz. *to repeat* (as his learned Antagoniſt N. O. often has it) *old things over & over, but never to remember us how they have bin confuted*, I muſt beg his pardon, if I make bold to remind him, & you *Reader* (though it be not for his Advantage, & conſequently no gratefull piece of ſervice) of what I have already ſaid, touching this Treaſon; & in caſe he has given here any new Intelligence, or added any force to my *Adverſary's* owne Accuſation, he ſhall heare of it (I promiſe him) with Intereſt before we part.

28. *Reply.*

'Twas never in my heart (& ſo will all that know me witneſſe) to think that theſe

theſe wicked Conſpirators were not Traytors in the higheſt degree, or that any punishment could equal the blackneſſe of their offence. In the Apology I am ſure there are no expreſſions that can be rackt to this; for my intent there was only to shew in few words, *That the Catholick body was innocent, knowing nothing of the enterprize: That the Plot it ſelfe was deſign'd* (to make the Catholiques odious) *by the Policy of a great Stateſman*; And laſtly, *though it had been contriv'd & manag'd by Papiſts alone, and unanimouſly approved by all, yet we that live now are guilty of no ſin, nor worthy of punishment for it*, having given ſuch high Teſtimony of our owne particular Loyalty, that I dare ſay, no Enemy of ours do's really beleeve we tamper with any forreign Prince, or that we would not joyn with our King & Country againſt any invader whatever; which were the crimes charg'd upon us in the laſt Age.

That the *Catholick Body* had no hand in the Treaſon, moſt plainly appears by the quality of the *Actors*, and by the number of them. I know there were four or five Gentlemen of Antient blood engaged; but I look upon that as no wonder: for out of the firſt twenty Catholicks accidentally

tally met; one may very certainly find as great Families as any were there, unlesse that of the *Percies*: yet this *Percy* was a man of no fortune, nor am I sure (though I well know my Lord *Northumberlands* Relations) whether really he was a kinsman, or only for names sake called his Cozen.

A Plot is look't upō as general, when a good number of the Chief of a Party are intrigued in the design; nor were the *Catholick Noblemen* then ... only cōsiderable, but the considerablest of the Nation; for at that time there being no Duke, but the late King, the first *Marquis*, the first *Earl*, the first *Viscount*, and the first *Baron* were of our Profession; and I believe 'twill be granted, that the Lords *Winchester*, *Arundel*, *Montacute*, and *Abergavenny* (and so proportionably the rest of the Papal Nobility) were in their Estates & interest fit to be Partizās, (if they had had a mind to it) in any conjuration. Now none of these Noblemen, nay, not one of all the Peers, nor any more of the Gentry then the Traytors, whom I will by and by mention, had a hand in the design: therefore to call this, as our Adversarys do, an universal *Popish Plot*, is in it self a contradiction, or at least a riddle beyond my capacity to unfold.

As

As for the number of the Traytors, they were but *thirteen Laymen in all*: whereof four, viz. *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *the two Wrights* were killed in the apprehending; *Tresham* died of a Strãgurie in the Tower; & eight ſuffered to wit, *Faux*, *Keys*, *Bates*, *Grant*, *Rook-wood*, *the two Winters*, *and Digby*, as all Writers have it; nor can any thing be more cleere than that there were no more Conſpirators, ſeeing in all their examinations no Gentleman was diſcovered, unleſſe *Owen*; which could not happen out of deſign to ſave their friends, becauſe ſeveral particulars (which might have bin eaſily kept ſecret) were revealed, as may be found in their printed confeſſions; & the Jeſuits *Baldwin*, *Hammond*, *Teſmond*, and *Gerard* (were (as my Adverſary ſays) found Actors in the Plot. If then the Malefactors did accuſe their Confeſſors, certainly they would never have ſpared others, had there been any guilty.

Beſides this of their accuſing no body, the Commons, Lords, and Privy Councel were ſo vigilant, that they left no ſtone unturn'd to find out the depth of the Plot: and to ſhew how nice they were in all manner of ſuſpition, the Lords [a] *Sturton* and *Mordant*, two Catholics, were fined (as [b] *Baker* &

[a] *Baker* p. 433.

[b] *How.* K. I. p. 884.

He wrot) for being abſent frō the Houſe that day; by which 'tis plain they were ſo far from finding poſitive proof, that there was not the leaſt glimpſe of any thing, otherwiſe they would never have deſcended to ſo ſlight a poſſibility; for there is not a day in which the Parliament ſits, but there may be found more Catholicks out of the Houſe, than were then. Nay, the circumſpection was ſo great, that my Lord *Northumberland* a proteſtant was fin'd 30. thouſand pound, & impriſoned for many years together (as the ſaid [a] Authors have it) being ſuſpected to know ſomething, becauſe he had admitted *Percy* into the Band of Penſioners (of which he was Captain) without giving him the Oath of Supremacy. Thus, Reader, you ſee how impoſſible it is, that the Catholick Party were involved herein; and for the fourſcore that appeared with them in Rebellion, they were only *Servants and Horſe-boys*, who (as [b] *Sanderſon* ſays) were *watcht hourly, for fear of quitting their Maſters*: and this alſo [c] *Speed* confirms, affirming *that they ever were ready to ſteal from the Conſpirators; and that more care was in keeping them, then truſt repoſed either in their Faith or defence.* In ſhort, nothing can make the Innocence of Catholicks more evident, then

[a] *Ib.*

[b] *Sand. K. I. p.* 372.

[c] *Sp. K. I. p.* 920.

that

that none, but the thirteen aforesaid, suffered either for the Plot or rising.

Concerning the Plot it self, Reader, those that set it a working were the discoverers of it: for you must know, it was a piece of wit in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, to draw men into such devises; nor were any more excellent in the Art, then *Burleigh* and *Walsingham*, & every body know's *Cecil* was son to the one, and successor to the other in the very Secretariship. Making and fomenting Plots was then, I say, in fashion; for when *Gifford* discovered to *Walsiagham* that *Babington* had a design in the behalf of the Q. of *Scots*, *This pious Secretary* wrot to Sir A. *Pawlet* her keeper, *to let some of his Servants be corrupted*; and at length the *Brewer* was pitch't upon, as *Cambden* tell's us, by which means the Queen receiving and sending Letters, *Walsingham* had the perusal of them: and thus when many were drawn in (as most loose people may, if Statesmen lay gins) they were all at last taken and hanged. The same trap caught the Queen also; for they first kept her in prison to make her earnest for liberty, then opened her, as you see, this way of correspondeney at home & abroad, to procure her freedom; & for it she was at last condemned to die, there being

a *Camd.* 1586. p. 408.

(as she her selfe we see most bitterly complain's in the said History) [a] *a Law a year before on purpose prepared* in hopes of such and the like Conspirations. But this Statute had been too weak, as Lawyers well know, to put a free Princesse to death, *had she not been a Papist*, and not otherwise to be hindred from the Crown after the decease of Queen *Elizabeth*. Such a trick as this for our destruction was again invented by the *Statesman*, who bore (as every body knew) a particular hatred to all of our Profession; and this increased by seeing the new King not only *receive into his Councel* Henry *Earl of* Northampton, a known Papist, as [a] *Wilson* call's him, but also to hear his Majesty speak a little in his first speach to the two Houses against *Persecution of* [b] *Papists*, when as there had been nothing within those Walls but invectives & defamations for above forty years together.

[a] *Ibid. p.* 419.

[a] *Wil. K. I. p.* 3.

[b] *K. I. workes p.* 491.

What could now destroy our hopes with this gracious Prince, but a seeming Plot against his Life and Line? Nor was it any hard thing for a *Secretary* to know turbulet and ambitious spirits, who perchance had had designs in the reign of Queen *Eliz.* 'Tis not possible to discover the whole transaction of a *great Minister* that died in

prof-

prosperity: but 'tis argument enough to assert this, that if a Person, a fam'd Professor *in Tricks*, as a *Osborne* acknowledges him to be, & one also accus'd *for determining our Extirpation*, according to b *Sanderson*; I say it is argument enongh to assert this, That if such a Person contrived a most material part, *he contrived also the rest*: and certainly (with some considerations upō it) *this miraculous Letter* which discovered the whole Plot, will discover our *Statesman* to be the Author of it. The *Letter* is as follow's, as you may find it in c *Baker* & in all the other Writers of this conspiracy.

a *Mem.* K. I. p. 37. & 88.

b *Sand.* K. I. p. 335.

My Lords

c *Baker* K. I. p. 432.

Out of the love I bear some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation, therefore I could wish you (as you tender your life) to forbear the attendance at this Parliament, for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. Think not slightly of this advertisement; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm: for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the Letter, and I hope you will make good use of it.

This is the anonimous Ticket, which

being sent to my *Ld. Monteagle*, occasioned (they say) the Jealousie, & afterwards the Discovery of the 36. *barrels of Powder* plac't under the Parliament House, to be fired by *Faux* with his dark Lanthorn, for the destruction of the King & the whole Nation in Epitome. And because great Adventures in all well contrived Stories are ever to come to light just as they are to be executed, therfor though *the Letter were deliver'd to Cecil ten dayes before* (as [a] *Sand.* K. I. p. 323. [a] *Sanderson*, [b] *How* & the Rest acknowlege) yet the search was not made 'till the very *Eve of the Session*, as it is said in [c] *How*, [d] *Wilson*, & elsewhere. But pray let us a little consider on the Particulars, & then Reader tell me whether it could be a Popish Plotter that wrot this Letter. For is it possible to imagine that any man could be so mad, after he & his Partizans had brought their Plot to that perfection, had so solemny sworn as *Speed* relates, even [e] *by the Trinity and Sacrament, never to disclose it directly or indirectly, by word or Circumstance*, and resolved also to blow up all the *Catholique Lords* and the rest of their *friends* in both Houses; I say all this Cõsidered, is it possible to fancy that a man would write a Letter, that had more in

[b] *How.* K. I. p. 876.
[c] *Ibid.* p. 879.
[d] *Wil.* K. I. p. 31.
[e] *Speed.* p. 917.

it of a Plot againſt the State, than the bare ſaving of a friend. 'Twas reported that *Percy* wrot it; but no body ever found there were ſuch ſuperlative endearments between *Monteagle* & him, or any other of the Conſpirators, as that they could ſtumble at this Noblemans deſtruction only, and yet diſpence with killing ſo many of their own Religion, and Relations; for [a] *Speed* ſays, *Father, Brother, Friend, Allye, Papiſt,* &c. *were to have been blown up* by theſe Traytors. But tis evident *Percy* had no hand in it; for if ſo (it beeing long bruted we ſee, that *Cecil* had got it) he would have provided for an Eſcape after ſome extraordinary manner, both as conſcious of the Letter, & of the danger impending; when as on the contrary, he never ſtir'd from his poſt, but with the reſt of the Cabal look't upon the whol ſtory as fabulous. Yet ſuppoſe *little intimacies between this Lord and Percy* ([b] as *Wilſon* ſays there were) had produced ſo mighty a concern for his life, whereas my Lord *Northumberland* (*Percy's* Patron and only ſupport) was to be ſacrific'd without pity; yet what need was there to write, *That God and man would punish the Parliament, and this by a blow, and that they ſhould not know who*

[a] *Speed* p. 926.

[b] *Wil.* K. *I.* p. 314.

hurt

hurt them, and a hunderd other circumstances not only suspicious, but to no manner of purpose, unlesse intended for the detection of the whole Intrigue. Nay we find in K *James's* owne *Relation*

a K. I. works p. 115. „ a That by the words *They shall recieve a* „ *terrible blow this Parliament, & yet shall not* „ *see who hurt them*, he presently cõjectur'd „ that there was *Powder* in the case. 'Tis also „ there, that his Majesty said, that the ex- „ pression, *The danger shall passe, as soon as* „ *you have burnt the Letter* (which *Cecil* „ would have forsooth to be the words „ of a mad man) did well expresse the „ quicknesse of the Danger, & that the „ Event would be as suddain as the bur- „ ning of the Paper, & therfor he com- „ manded them *to search the Parliament* „ *House, before He was to come thither.*

Thus we see what caus'd the King's suspition, even the obviousnesse of the words, & which is more, words that were wholy needlesse, as I said before; for if the Writer of the *Letter* had a desire (being an extraordinary friend) to keep this Nobleman from the House that day, He would have written in his own name and character to this or the like Effect. That out of love to his preservation, he desired him to forbear

his

his Attendance, becauſe ſome were reſolved to kill him in the way: that as yet being in hold, or under Oath, he could not tell him the particulars, but that as ſoon as he were free (which would not be long) he ſhould know all things from him by word of mouth. Such an Account as this, would have certainly kept my Lord at home, when as the other muſt neceſſaryly confound him, as we ſee very particularly it did, even by the *Kings* a *Relation*; for 'tis there ſaid. „ That my Lord „ having opend the *Letter*, which had „ neither Date, Place, nor name, & „ moreover the hand being both unknown „ & difficult, he call'd a Servant to help „ him in the Reading of it; *but finding the „ Contents to be ſo marvelous, though he were „ doubtfull of their meaning, & whether he „ ſhould thinke it a buiſineſſe of weight, or a „ trick of his Enemies to keep him from the „ Houſe, He determind nevertheleſſe as a „ good Subject (whatſoever the buiſineſſe was) „ not to ſuppreſſe the Letter, & ſo carried it „ to Cecil*; Nor could any thing in truth be elſe expected, but confuſiō in his Lordſhip, & conſequently the Deſcants of wiſe men upon this miſterious meſſage. Beſides no man really engaged in the Treaſon (had he bin never ſo great a

a *Relat. K. I. p. 213.*

fool

fool) would have given warning ten *dayes* (as I just now showd you) before the Plot was to be executed, since my Lord might have been easier kept at home, by advising him the night before. Nay, this long warning was so far frō any appearance of advantage, that on the contrary it was quite opposite to all the designs of a Conspirator; for certainly either 'twould make my Lord carelessly contemn the Admonition comming from an idle fellow in the street, or else if he were apprehensive, he would necessarily shew it, by which there must needs be a great hazard of haveing all foūd out. Now on the other side, this interval was beneficial to a *Machivilian*, because he knew 'twould be more grateful to the K: & Counsel to have time to cōsider, And 'tis pleasant to see in most of the Relations & Accounts of this buisinesse, *how the Letter appear'd Nonsence forsooth to Cecil, & with what a particular Adulation He seem'd all along to admire the King's Comment, and Exposition*; for though his *Majesty* had as much wit as any man living, yet the Affaire was here so plaine, that one of a far lesse capacity could not miscarry in it, I say this Interval was quite opposite to all the Designes of a true Conspirator, & yet beneficial to a *Machivilain*, who now could afford the

Juncto

Junc&to time enough to consider & argue; whereas if the Execution had been at hand, & the Riddle unresolv'd, he himselfe must haue play'd the *Oedipus*, or at least have started hints, which might have easily drawn a suspicion upon him; and how ungrateful such a wickedenesse would have been to an upright Prince, he him self could not but well imagine. Thus, Reader, you see the intention of this *Letter* was to have the thing discovered, and thus could he ruine his Enemies, and make his own vigilance appear; for without such and the like remembrances, the wit of a great Minister is soon forgottē both by Prince and People. Nor did *Cecil* it seem's misse of another reward, for (as [a] *Sanderson* says) *he Was for his good service made an Earle.* [a] X. I. p. 329.

But my *Adversary* & *Dr; Stillingfleet* think all this nothing; because *neither* K. James, *nor the then* Popish Apologists, & *Writers intimat any suspicion of a* Trick, *& that it was the Concern of all Papists, especially the Jesuits, to wipe of this Stain & throw it on the great Minister.*

As for the *first Apologists*, be pleas'd *Reader* to remember they were strangers, as *Bellarmine, Eudæmon Johannes*, &c. who perchance either knew not the grounds of our suspicion, or if they did, would not

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in print accuse a *great Nobleman* of a Crime, which, though true, could not yet be made good, & sufficiently proved by them; for Time & Patience can only bring such Deeds of Darkneſſe to Light. But it is evident (notwithstanding that my Adversary will call me the first Author of this newes) that the *Catholiques* of *England*, (who knew *Cecil's* wayes of acting & their own Innocence) suspected him from the beginning, as hundreds still alive can witneſſe, & as *Father More* (a man of seventy yeares when he died) has it in his posthumous *History of the English Province*; for in it he sayes, [a] *There was no light suspicion of a Peers knowing the Conspiracy long before its discovery, who cunningly pretended Ignorance, that more might be involved.* This also *Sanderson* a *Protestant*, I think plainly enough intimates, whē speaking of the Discovery of this Plot, he tell's us, [b] *That the* „ Jesuits *had a Note of* Cecils *name in their* „ *Regiſter*, not against them as a *Day-La-* „ *bourer*, that carried some few Stones „ or sticks, *but as the Master-workman*, „ whose foreign & domestique *Engineers* „ wrought in this *Mine* of Discovery. And the said Charge, *Cicil* himselfe ownes too, by making this Answer to the Complaint of Papists; That even

[a] *Hiſt. of the Sea. p.* 310.

[b] *Sand. K. 1. p.* 334.

So

so a *Nero* set *Rome* on fire, & after layd the blame upon the *Christians*. But suppose now I had bin the first Brocher or Discoverer of *Cecils* Intrigue, how dos that weaken the Arguments by which I prove it? Or cannot a thing be true becaus 60. yeares agoe, People knew nothing of it? 'Tis well this *Doctrine* is taught by the Decryers *of Infallibility*; for should it universally be reciev'd as Orthodox, all that busy themselves in Antiquity might shut up their shops; whereas many still hope (& several, as 'twas imagin'd, have had great succesle) not only to discover what has layn dorment 60. but 600. yeares also. Yet to content these two worthy Writers, I do acknowlege (& I think I have show'd it them) *that I am not the Author of this profound Intelligence*, as they are pleas'd to call it. Perchance I have bin the first, that urg'd the present Arguments, & a thousand more may be yet found; therfor (as I said in the beginning) they should answer them, if they deem them not satisfactory, & not tell us, that they are invalid, becaus new. So much for the Complement of these my present *Antagonists*, who would make me a better *Poet* than I am, & now let us go on where we left.

a Ibid. 336.

'Tis

'Tis evident then (by what has bin already said) that *Catholiques* lookt upon *Cecil* as the man, that (to ruine their Party) drew these few Gentlemen into the Plot; Nor dos *Osborn* mince the matter, who was borne before this *Plot*, & who was also an Inquisitive man, a Frequenter of Company, of a noted wit, of an excellent Family, & as Protestant a one, as any in the whole nation; I say *Osborn* minces not the matter, but confesses plainly; [a] *That it was a neate Device of the Treasurer*; a Preferment which *Cecil* also got after this buisinesse.

[a] *Osb. X. I. p. 36.*

But my Adversary we see stops not here with the Dr. about the 60 yeares concealment of this secret, but presses on further, desireing to know (as extremely pertinent to his purpose) *who was Cicil's Setter, that would be hang'd that his Art might not be suspected, for none* (he says) *of the Conspirators were sav'd*; & yet he himselfe (a fault of his labile memory) has given a List of 20. of which *Garnet* & 13. Lay-men (as you have heard) only sufferd. If it were true that the other 6. were of the *Plot*, why might not Cecil make use of them? for he that (in hopes of advantage) will be a Traytor to his Prince, & Country, may easily prove one to his privat Friends. And why might not our *States*

man

mun too imitate his Predeceſſor *Walſingam*, & neglect ſuch a Wretch, his Turne beeing once ſerv'd? For thus it happend with *Gifford* the Prieſt, who was never viſibly rewarded, though *he corrupted the Brewer*, & thereby drew the *Queen of Scots* in to the Trap, that ruin'd her, as I showd you before out of *Cambden*. But I wonder my Adverſary who pretends to the Politiques, cannot fancy *how a Setter may be hang'd, that his Patrons Art might not be ſuſpected*, ſince ſuch tricks have bin often play'd by Polititians. For when a Decoy is once by fair & ſpecious promiſſes won to theſe Actions, & fall's on a ſuddain with the reſt of the Quarry into the Net, 'tis vain to flutter & make a noiſe, for he know's he may eaſily looſe his Patron, but will never be believ'd by the State; where as on the other ſide mighty hopes & aſſurances are given him, which evē when they flag, & decay, carry Comfort with them. For if he little dream't of his new priſon according to Compact, notwithſtanding now he is put in hopes his freedome ſpeedily. Within few days after, he is told that a Tryall is unavoydable, & though this happens croſſe & beyond expectation, yet it ſhall turn to his advantage & honor, by a cleere diſcharge at Bar. But

being

being here unfortunatly condemn'd, he is nevertheleſſe to have his pardon, which it ſeem's afterwards (for ſome Reaſons of State) muſt be at the Gallow's, ſo that at laſt he is hang'd unawares. Such a Climax & gradation (as 'tis ſaid) truſs'd up lately a Spanish Setter, but *Machivilians* have more tricks than one, for if they finde their Creature will not be ſatisfied with words, & is like to be dangerous & unruly, 'tis then only ſaying he died of a *Strangury*; or ſome ſuddain Diſtemper in priſon, as it happend here to *Treſham*; who (as *Winter* declar's in his printed Confeſſion) *was ſuſpected by them*, & who we ſee in [b] *How*, [c] *Baker*, & the other Relators, *hancker'd about the Court, even when all his fellow-Conſpirators were fled & gone.*

[a] K. I. Workes p. 229.
[1] How. K. I. p. 880.
[c] Bak. K. I. p. 433.

As for the Doctor's Aſſertion, *That the Plotters motives were from their Religion* (a point that ſhall preſently be very fully handled) 'tis as true as that the Plot had it's Riſe from *Clem:* 8 *Breve's*; For his Holineſſe intended them (as I have [d] showd you already) for his Majeſty's advantage & good. That which drove theſe Gentlemen into this wickedneſſe was, *The want of Chriſtian Patience, or a Deſpair of any Eaſe by this King from*

[d] Rep. 22. p. 364.

&

Q. *Elizabeth's cruel & horrid Lawes, whenas the whole Catholic Party had suffer'd so much for his Mother*; & thus[a] *How* acknowleges it. „The King's first *Parlia-* [a] *How* K. I. 2.
„*ment* (*saye's he*) ended in *July*, the 2d. 875.
„yeare of his Reigne, *Wherein Catesby*,
„*Piercy*, *Wright & the rest seing nothing*
„*done to their Ease & content*, *&c. Catesby*
„told them, he had devised a surer
„& readier way to effect what they desi-
„red without the helpe of any foreign Nation. But besides the error of it, *That the Conspirators had no humane provocation*, the Assertion or Charge it selfe is impertinent, since no *Provocation* (according to our Religion) can warrant or justifie a wicked Action. How little therefore has the *Doctor* to say, when he is forc't so mightily to insist upon this, as also upon *Percy's being a Courtier*, as if a *Pensioner's place* could keep within bounds every ambitious & high spirited man of our Communion, whenas neither the grandure of *Essex* under Q. *Eliz*, nor the quiet enjoy'd by *Cobham*, *Grey*, & *Rawleigh* in this very King's Reigne, nor the high post which *Pembroke*, *Hamilton*, & others were in, whilst our late Soveraigne sway'd the sceptre, could hinder them (*though Protestants*) from running into those horrid &

transcendent Treasons. But it seem's let the *Reform'd* do what they please, their *Religion* is nevertheless frō God, & yet ours must be respōsible for the actions of every Professor.

Of Garnets Treason, & of the Sacrament of Confession.

As for *Garnet*, I have only this to say, that if he design'd, promoted, or encouraged the *Plot*, he was a wicked Traytor, & deserv'd far more than he suffer'd; *but if he knew it no otherwise than in Confession, & that he dissuaded his Penitent from it*, I can very safely affirme, there is never a *Catholic Prince* in Christendom, but will deem him an honest man; nay could Treason known this way be lawfully disclos'd, K. *James* had gotten nothing by it; for then all the Traytors would have acted like Protestants, that is to say, have kept the whole buisinesse to themselves. Whosoever pleases to peruse F. *Mores* History shall there find to this Effect; [b] *That Garnet at his Trial, calld God & his Angels to witnesse, that when Catesby in Confession told him of the Conspiracy, he dissuaded him from it, & made him promise to desist, & that he sent to* Rome *to have all violent Machinations forbidden by particular Censure.* Infinite are the Examples that could be brought concerning the Piety & Care of *Confessors* for the safty of the State; nay *Ravillac* himselfe confest, as [c] *De Serres* has

[b] *More's Hist. p. 319.*

[c] *De Ser. Lew. 13. p. 1139.*

has it; „ That though he would not reveal „ his designe to any one, yet he acquainted „ *Father Aubigny* the Jesuit with his Reve- „ lations, & shew'd him a knife on which „ a Heart & a Crosse were engraven, „ telling him also that the King ought to „ reduce the *Hugonots* to the Church; *but* „ *the said Father advis'd him to have his re-* „ *cours to God, & to use Brothes for the* „ *weakness of his Brain.* So that it ap- peares, notwithstanding that this wretch manifested a discontent *at the King's not reducing the Hugonots*, yet his Confessor would not so much as countenance him, or approve in the least, that he was to concern himselfe in the affaire. No wonder then that Catholic Magistrates are so Zealous for Confession, owning it as a mighty help to Government; & this check every Priest lyes under, that though he must be secret to the *Penitent* (for otherwise no body would confesse) *yet the Penitent may reveal his Counsel & Suggestions*, so that he run's the danger (if he design's ill) of those that incite a villain against his Prince; Let our very Enemies therefore judge how much the said *Garnet* deserv'd death.

But if this Piety in him must be doubted because a grave & learned *Catholique* re- cord's it, let us heare what a *Protestant*

Historian writ's concerning him, even at his Execution. „ [a]He acknowleged (sayes „ *How*) his foul offence in concealing the „ Treason, & say'd, I am heartily sorry for „ it, & I aske forgiveneſſe of God & the „ King for the same, & I beseech God to „ blesse the King & his Issue, & I do „ exhort all *Catholiques* never to attempt „ *Rebellion*, *Treason*, or *violent Practices* „ *either against the* King *or State*, for „ *all such Courses are utterly against the Catho-* „ *lique Religion*. This is then the *Protestant* Account, & both the one & the other free the *Catholique Faith* from the blemish of the *Treason*; for according to *Fa. More*, *Garnet* behav'd himselfe like a faithfull servant of *Jesus-Christ* and according to the Intent of the holy *Sacrament of Confession*, which is to perswade & withdraw ill men from their Wickednesse. But if *How* is to passe for the truer Relator, we have there on the one side, the opinion of a learned *Jesuit* & *Divine*, who must need's know the Churches Doctrine; & on the other side, the declaration of a dying Christian, & therfor to be believ'd, *That Rebellion & violent Practices are utterly against the Catholique Religion*. Nevertheleſſe if the actions & misdemeanours that have sometimes happen'd be sufficient in the opinion

[a] *How K. I. p. 882.*

opinion of our Enemies juſtly to condemne us, then by the ſame Rule I can very lawfully affirme, *that the Church of England teaches theft*, becauſe ſo many of her Members are monethly hang'd for it at Tyburne.

As for *Widdrington*, who he was, or what books he put out, I know not, but this I am ſure of, that let him be *Catholique* or *Proteſtant*, he writes very falſly if he affirmes, *that Garnet's name was inſerted into the Martyrology, & that his bones are kept as Reliques, or that his Image was ſet over Altars as a Martyr*. For to be declar'd a *Martyr* & to have one's *Picture* ſo plac't, are Actions done with great formality by the Church, & the intention is to give the world thereby full notice of the Perſon's virtues, that he may be every where honoured afterwards; whereas Catholiques ſtill ſay there is no ſuch thing, nor is his Picture to be found upon any Altar in the world. But the vanity of this ſtory (were it not a Contradiction in it ſelfe) may eaſily be conciev'd by that of keeping his Bones for Reliques, ſince *Biſhop Barlow* himſelfe in his Book call'd *The judgment of a Catholic Gentleman, &c.* ſcoffingly ſays [a] *That his Head & Fleſh Were rotting upon London Bridge, whilſt his Face*

[a] *Vid. F. Parſons Anſwer to it p.* 23.

Face was shining in a Straw; *for his godly Purity*; So that unlesse *Dr. Stillingfleet* will have his *Flesh* & Head hang there without *Bones*, they could not be kept as *Reliques*; And as for the straw, which my *Adversary* too mention's, I shall desire him to tell me what he would thinke, If at the Quartering of a *Protestant* for an Article of his Faith; *a Speck of his Blood should fall on a Straw in the forme of a face so exactly like, that all men knew it, that had ever seen him.* This I am sure made *K. James* to wonder, as also some *Protestants* of my owne Acquaintance, that were present when the *Spanish Ambassador* brought it to Court. Nor is any thing more false than that this poor man (as the Dr. & my *Adversary* suggest) should determine, *That the Innocent & Guilty might lawfully* (in this Plot) *be destroyd together, if it were for the greater good.* For *Fa. More* & the other Apologists expresly say; „ [a] *That* „ *Catesby* pretending he would be a Soul- „ dier in the Low Countries & proposing „ in general termes severall cases to *Gar-* „ *net*, He told him, *that in a just war a Town* „ *might be storm'd, Mines blown up &c.* „ *although Innocent men were expos'd on* „ *the Wall.* This is the opinion I thinke of all Christians in the World, & to rail

[a] *Hist. of the Soc. p.* 321.

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at a *Papist* for holding it, still further shows the rare Justice of our Enemies.

Of the same species is the *Doctor's* quarell with the *Pope, for his hard usage towards two Jesuites, who had bin* (he sayes) *Conspirators; the one being made his Penitentiary, & the other Confessor in Saint Peter's*; So that his Holinesse (it seems) cannot be in the Doctor's favour unlesse he punishes two *Priests*, the one for being wholly innocent, & the other for doing a Duty which the *Catholique Religion* absolutely enjoin's, to wit, *the concealing of things revealed in Confession.* For *Gerard* not only (as *Eudæmon Joannes* has it) „ [a] *Set forth a* publick Writing, in which he „ call'd God to witnesse, *that he knew not of „ the Plot, no not so much as in Confession*, „ but also, as soon as he came to [b] *Rome*, „ his *General* commanded him by virtue „ of *Holy Obedience* to tell him plainly & „ without Ambiguities. *if he had bin conscious of the Plot*, which *he denied upon* „ *Oath.* And as for *Tesmond* he constantly affirm'd (as the said Author further tell's us) [c] *that he knew not of it but in Confession, & that he as much dissuaded Catesby from it, as if the Pope himselfe had bin in danger.* But who would not thinke that these high & mighty Preferments (mention'd by the Dr.

Of Gerard & Tesmond.

[a] *Eud. Ioa. Ap. pro Gar. p. 280.*

[b] *Ibid. p. 283.*

[c] *Ibid. p. 290.*

Dr. with such a do) were worth at least 2000 pound a yeare; whenas *Reader* you must know, *to be* the *Popes Penitentiary St Peters* or elsewhere, is to sit 6. or 7. houres together in a cold *Confession-Seat*, & then to have on's labour for on's paines; so that we here plainly see, how the *Doctor* scrapes together all old Calumnies without ever minding what they are. But might not we have well expected, that he, who pretend's so much to Criticismes, & is ever carping & jeering at the least slip, let it be to the purpose or no, would have bin more cautious than to commit so grosse a mistake, even in so obvious & ordinary a thing; for the *Popes Penitentiary*, & the *Confessor in Saint Peter's* are as much one, as the *Minister of Saint Andrew's* & the *Parson* of it. I could, I'l assure him, make stir enough about this excellent Erudition if I pleas'd, & that more justly too than he about *the Parenthesis of Munster*, had I err'd as much as he imagin'd. Let it then passe as a Rhetorical *exaggeration*, for I will not disoblige so learned a man, in calling it Ignorance: & by the way I must desire the *Reader* to remember, That *Gerard was never Penitentiary or Confessarius in Saint Peters*, but lived privatly in the *English College*, & there

there died, as hundreds ſtill alive can teſtify, & therfor the world may judge *how his Picture could be at La Fleche among the Martyrs*, as my *Adverſary* very oddly tells us.

And now that we talke of exaggerations, I muſt deſire my *Reader* to conſider, what the *Doctor* ſayes of *Bellarmine*; viz, *That he plainly told the King, if he would be ſecure, he muſt give Liberty to our Religion*; which words (as they are ſet down) imply, that either he approved ſuch attempts, or that he threaten'd his Majeſty; whereas the learned [a] *Cardinal* (as may be ſeen in his Book) only show'd the King, *that they who feare not to commit ſuch horrid Treaſons, will never feare to contemn an Oath*; & having backt it *by Inſtances in the Roman Emperours*, propoſes barely by way of Advice *Liberty of Conſcience as the ſecureſt meanes*. Have we not cauſe then to complain of the *Doctor's* uſage? & who in reaſon can now rely on his ordinary Writings & Invectives, if he abſtain's not from falſe quotations, or falſe ſuggeſtions (which is the ſame thing) in the very Pulpit, even where his Prologue was *Hearken to the Word of the Lord*. But that we might have yet a farther view of his Confidence,

Dr. Still's: falſe quotations, or ſuggeſtions.

[a] *Tortus p. 17.*

&

& see what Malice, self interest, or at least the Defence of an ill Cause drive men to. He positively affirmes; that our *Casuists* acknowlege, *That Heresie told in Confession may be reveald*; which is a thing so directly opposite to the *Catholique Religion*, that he might have as well said that they deny the *Real Presence*, or that they think him in a damnable Condition, that believes the *Infallibility* of the *Church*; for this *Sacrament* is of such Reverence among us, that we cannot lawfully disclose a secret known by it, *though twere to save Christianity from ruine.*

But the Doctor proceed's in his strange humour, & sayes, *That our Church never detested the Principles upon which these Traytors acted, whenas, his vindicated the honour of their Religion on the Parricides of* K. Charles, *not only in executing their Persons, but declaring even against the Principles that led them to it*; I say the Doctor proceeds in his strange humour, since nothing could be more odly or wrongfully asserted, what part so ever of the Charge we consider. For, as far as this Plot concernes Catholiques, what can make their detestation of it both at home & abroad more appear, than their ouvert Actions? Did not K. *James* even by

Pro-

Proclamation declare [a] That he could not conceive any Prince gave eare to such a Barbarity, & that upon the Examination that had bin made, he found them & their very publique Ministers clear from any suspicion of Privity; nay *That all their Ministers had desir'd to be at the House that day*? Doe not also [b] *How*, [c] *Baker, &c.* acquaint us, *of the magnificent Presents, sent by the King & Queen of Spain to congratulate with their Majesties for this Deliverance*? Have we not also an account every where of the *Arch-dukes* great demonstrations of Joy herein; & in short of the *Extraordinary Embassies* sent from all Places to the same purpose? Dos not *Card. Bellarmine* expresse the *Treason*, not only by the name of [c] *Horrid*, but also adds, [d] *Non excuso factum, Odi parricidia, execror conspirationes: I excuse not the fact, I abominate King-killing, I detest conspiracies*? Did ever Writer, whether Priest or Lay-man, English-man or stranger, own the real Plotters not to be Villains? But above all dos not *The general Councel of Constance* both declare against Conspiracies of Subjects upon the lives of their Princes, & condemne also the Opinion of holding it lawfull *to be heretical & damnable*? Tis therefore in explication of this

[a] *Procl. 7. Nov. 1605.*

[b] *How K. I. p. 881.*

[c] *Bak. K. I. p. 433*

[d] *Tortus p. 17.*

[e] *Ib. 18.*

[f] *Sess. 15 Anno 1415.*

this *Councel* that *Card. Perron* himſelfe (whom my Adverſary deem's ſuch a Stickler for the *Popes* power over the ſecular Magiſtrate) ſayes, as I showd before, [a] *That though a King should be never ſuch an Apoſtate, & Perſecuter, & his ſubjects abſolved even from their Allegiance, yet they cannot kill him, nor uſe clandeſtine conjurations to that end.* Nay (beſides the known Loyalty of *English Catholicks*, & their Conſtant Proteſtation againſt all ſuch villanies in general, & this in particular) we find in every printed Relation of the buſineſſe, *That the very Traytors themſelves at their Execution, askt God forgiveneſſe, & were very ſorry for their deſigne*, but we never hear, That they chang'd or repented of their *Religion*, which evidently prov's their deſigne & Religion to be quite oppoſite, & different.

[a] *Rep.* 11 *p.* 189.

Having thus showne you what Papiſts both ſaid & did againſt theſe Conſpirators (which I hope may be well call'd *markes of Infamy*) we will now fall upon the *Proteſtant Deteſtation of the late Regicides*, & though the Clergy of the *Church of England* should declare againſt them & their Principles, yet it comes short of what the *Doctor* would have, For it follow's not that they muſt neceſſarily (though

(though I do not hereby tax them of disloyalty) *deteſt killing, & depoſing of Kings*, by declaring againſt it in a Caſe, where the real picque & quarrel of moſt people at his Majeſty was; for his Paſſion & Zeale in their Concernes. The Inſtance had bin to the purpoſe, had the Murther of this glorious Prince bin advantagious to the Clergy, but ſince it was not, let us ſee how the forreign *Proteſtants* behaved themſelves, who (having no temporal Intereſt either of Loſſe, or profit in the buſineſſe) may be reckon'd to have truely acted according to the *Dictates* & *Principles* of their *Religion*. I ſhall not now inſiſt on the great Veneration they had for *Milton's Writings*, which vindicated thoſe horrid Tranſactions; or their Zeal for *Cromwel* all along, or their notorious neglect of our *King* in his many troubles & afflictions. I ſay I ſhall not inſiſt on this, but deſire my *Reader* to conſider, *how they have acted & declared againſt the Regicides*, & their Partizans, ſince his Majeſty's Reſtauration; *& how they groan'd & grew impatient till they could vindicate the Honour* (as the *Dr.* call's it) *of the Reform'd Religion*; a procedure ſo ugly & impudent, that unleſſe it had bin publique, it could ne-

ver have bin believ'd. For whereas the *King of Spain* deliverd up *Scot*, & the *French* that miscreant *Warreston*, who lurk't among the *Hugonots* of *Roan*, Sr. *George Downing* had no sooner by dexterity & threats, gotten leave to seise on *Okey* & his fellowes in *Holland*, but the people every where fell a railing & cursing those Magistrates, that had sign'd the Warrant, & no body doubt's but they had rescued them after apprehension, had they not bin suddenly ship't away. Nor did the *Protestant Brethren* in other Countries expresse lesse Affection to those persecuted Saints; for at *Hanaw* in *Germany* many of them long resided; *Geneva* was their general Rendez-vous, where they lived so openly, that they scrupled not to converse even with *English* Travellers; & here that sweet & loyal Book, *The Judges Judged* was translated & printed, so that they that had bin executed in England were reckond *Martyrs*, & these, Confessors of the first Classe. With in a while there happened great Disputes between that Town & the *French King*, & they fearing he might (upon the Request of our *Monarch*) demand them, removed to *Switzerland*, where they had all the Protection imaginable;

so

ſo that when *Liſle*, the greateſt Villain of them all (if any compariſon can be made) was kill'd, there was ſuch an Uproar there, ſuch threatning of vengeance on thoſe that ſhot him, ſuch poſting after them, that they got not into the Frēch Dominion an houre ſooner than their perſuers, though they had layn ſeveral fresh horſes in the way to facilitate their Eſcape.

Has not the Doctor therefore with much Reaſon & advantage told us of rhe *Proteſtant Deteſtation of the Regicides*, even to illuſtrate thereby on the one ſide the *Reformed Loyalty*, & on the other the treaſonable *Principles & Practices* of the *Papiſts*. But this way of nicking himſelfe might well be expected in the cloſe, when his very firſt argument to convince us of *Cicil's* Integrity, demonſtrat's our own, & how barbarously we have bin uſed & calumniated. What the *Doctor* ſay'd we may remember, was this; *That if the great States-man had had a finger in the pye, K. James would have intimated ſomething of it*; now whether he has done ſo or no, I ſhall leave it to my Readers to determine, when they have reflected on ſome few particulars. For who can imagin after ſo horrid a plot, if his *Majeſty* had not at length found out the whole

Truth,

Truth, & bin assured of the Innocence of *Papists*, that he would ever have recieved them into Grace; a thing in tract of time so remarkable, that none of his Subjects were more welcome to him than we; which also incensed our Enemies to that height, that nothing was more frequent in Parliament, than complaints of his Princely kindenesse & Indulgence, as all Writers of those times record. Nor did he expresse lesse confidence in us by his Actions than his words; for he made *Sir Giles Calvert Secretary of State*, one whom [a]*Wilson* call's not only a *Papist*, but an *Hispanioliz'd* one also, to show the depth of his Complexion & Tincture. Nay at last instead of commanding his great *Officers* to connive, & be moderate, the penal-lawes themselves were to be suspended, *for he propounded a Toleration of our Religion*, as appears by *Bp. Matthews's* dolefull [b] *Letter* about it. Must we then after all these signes of Affection & Trust, thinke that this King, *the Salomon of the age* (as the *Clergy* especially stiled him) looked upon us as a disaffected & dangerous Party, as he must needs have done, had he thought the *Gun powder Plot* truly ours? but so far was he from it, *that he usually call'd the* 5.th *of November*, *Cecil's*

[a] *Wil. K. 1. p. 79.*

[b] *Cab p. 113.*

Cecil's Holy day, as the very [a] *Advocate* (whom the *Doctor* has already cited) mentions. And Reader I must here desire you to remmẽber that the *King* in his very *Speech to the Parliament* (after a full relation of the Particulars of this Treason) tells them of two things, which he intended to do; first [b] *To use a more diligent circumspection for the Discovery of the depth of the whole Plot*; & 2ly *after a mature consideration of all things, to punish more severely the conscious & guilty*. But we see by what has bin already said, that instead of finding us guilty of the Plot, or using any severity, but what the Fury of our Enemies forc'd him to for the present, he was gratiously pleas'd to show us much greater favours than ever.

[a] p. 225.

[b] K. I. *workes* p. 502.

I must yet trouble you *Reader* a little longer, there resting still some few of my Adversary's short jerks, which I finde (by his way of urging) he look's upon as witty & home.

First, he is concern'd that I call the Powder-Treason, *Misdemeanor*, *Fifth of November*, *Conjuration*, all of them, *being soft words*. To which I can only say, that I am very sorry for my offense, and in my next Apology (if that may satisfie for what is past) I'l use the most prolix

expreſſion of the Common Prayer, or ſervice for the day. But my errour grew from aiming at to much brevity it ſeem's; for as, when we ſpeak to the King, we ſay *Sir*, or your *Majeſty*, and not at every word, *Charles the Second by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, Defender of the Faith* &c, ſo in handling this affair, I thought ſignificant Termes might paſſe without reprehenſion; for doubtleſſe Treaſon is a *Misdemeanor*; when more then one are in it, 'tis a *Conjuration*; and the *Fifth of November*, is the common phraſe of the Kingdom.

2ly. He ſays, that K. *James's* Male-Line were to have been all deſtroyed. Now a *Baker* & b *Speed* ſay, *That the late King then D. of York, was only to have been ſuprized by Percy.* But the matter is not material, and I cite theſe *Proteſtant Authors*, only to shew that the malice of my Adverſary will make him erre even in the moſt obvious things.

a Bak. K. I. p. 592.

b Sp. p. 918.

3ly. He thinks that my comparing of *Cromwel's* drawing in the Cavaliers with this of *Cecil's*, is very odd, and unequal: For the Cavaliers, he ſayes, were cheated into a *lawful Action*, but the Powder-Traytors were out witted into *Treaſon*. To this, I ſay, that my compariſon was ne-

ver

ver intended (as you may see if you look into the Apology) to make an equality of Justice or Honour in their sufferings; but to remember you how easie it is for Trapanners to draw people into *Plots*, and from thence to the *Gallows*. And since I mention *Cromwel*, let me tell you, that whosoever considers the last 12 yeares of our late Distractions, to wit from 1646 to 1658, *shall finde the Established Religion alter'd; an absolute Soveraigne executed, with formalities & pretences of Law; the French fond of our Amity; the Spaniard beaten; & lastly, the Zealous youth drawn into Plots*; which is a short Epitome or Reaction of the Reigne of Q. *Elizabeth*, whose most refined Counsellors, were also K. *James's*; but they soon found he was not for their turne, & no Admirer of *Legerdemain* & *Hocus pocus* tricks.

4ly. Because he is angry with the word *Desperadoes* I have now alter'd it in the Apology, & in lieu of it put *Ambitious men*; yet I am sure the terme in it selfe is proper enough, & conformable to King *James's* own [a] *Proclamation*, who there calls them *Men for the most part of desperate Estates*. But had they bin never so rich or in Esteem, it would have still well befitted them; for *Essex*, *Cob-*

[a] *Vid. Procl. Nov. 7.*

ham, Grey &c. were really *Desperadoes*, & yet wanted nothing, had they known their own happineſſe.

Laſtly, he ſaye's *few underſtood the Deſigne, but Papiſts generally knew there was one, & prayed for the ſucceſſe of it*; which, were it true, is an accuſation little to the purpoſe. For at that time 'twas reported *That ſeveral Catholics were about petitioning his Majeſty for Toleration*, as [a] *How* & the *King's own* [b] *Relation* mention; & therfor the whole Body might lawfully pray for the ſucceſſe of the Buiſineſſe in hand, had they bin deſired.

[a] *How* K. I. p. 877.

[b] K. I. *workes* 213.

Thus have I run through the whole *Calumny*, & thus our Enemies may ſee why we call' it a *Trick*, or to ſatisfy the *Doctors* Querie in his own phraſe, *Here he may underſtand from whence we derive our profound Intelligence at ſuch a diſtance of yeares.* Yet I muſt tell him, had the Plot bin ſolely contriv'd by thoſe of our Religion (as 'tis evident it was not) we might very lawfully ſay, that if a few *Chriſtians* in antient times, (provokt by the common calamity & affliction of the *Church*) had traytorouſly attempted on the life of an *Emperour*, that continued the perſecution, it ought not to involve the whole Body in the Crime. Can the *Doctor* therfor or my *Adverſary* deny

deny, but that they have doubly injur'd us; as endeavouring first to make the World believe a thing, that prov's false in it selfe, & then urging it for our Destruction & ruine, though we have so notoriously detested it both in our words & actions. Certainly they will not be offended, if I remmember them with what the ingenious *Mr. Marvel* writes in the *Second Part of his Rehersal Transpros'd* concerning the *pestilence* of the present *Julians*; For so he reflects on the persecuting Clergy of the Age.[a] *There is not* (sayes he) *any more visible token of a meane spirit, than to taunt & scoffe at those in affliction, & by virulent jeers to exasperate the wounds of his own giving; such words being like chawd Bullets, as if it were not sufficient* (for a Detractor) *to shoot through, but that he must envenom them with his spittle.* Far otherwise was the procedure (last 5th of *Novemb.*) of two most eminent *Divines* both for the Post they are in, & their dislike of some Doctrins in the *Church of Rome*: For though they then omitted nothing, that might discourage seditious & treasonable Practices, yet their *Generosity* was such, as to use no barbarous insinuations, no inhumane exaggerations to irritate their

[a] *Reherf. Transp. 2d part. p.* 313

Hearers againſt a company of poor innocent Gentlemen, their faithfull Countrymen, & ſuch alſo as have Loyally & perſeveringly ſufferd for the very Monarchy it ſelfe. Theſe are truly generous Enemies & none of thoſe *furious Churchmen*, whom the ſaid *Tranſproſer* com-
[a] *Reherſ. Tranſp. 1. part. p. 240.* plains of in his firſt Part; [a] *as finding them alwayes* (he ſayes) *to have bin for the moſt precipitate, bruitish, & ſanguinary Counſells, & that the ſoftneſſe of the Univerſity where they have bin bred, & the gentleneſſe of Chriſtianity in which they have bin nurtur'd have but exaſperated their Nature.*

Theſe generous Enemies are no Writers alſo of *Seaſonable Diſcourſes* to incenſe the Nation, of *Reaſonable Defences* to continue the flame, or of *Sermons* fraught with nothing but virulency & malice; & ſo ſuperlative was the *Doctor* in his late Declamation, that ſeveral of his greate *Auditors* (I am ſure) were far from admiring his *Charity*, or believing there was any thing of *God* in that *ſtrong wind* or Tempeſt.

But ſince he has bin pleas'd there to exceed even himſelfe, & to make that
[b] *Mat. 7 16.* Scripture [b] *Ye ſhall know them by their Fruits* a part of his *Text*, to the end, that whatſoever ill Action any wicked *Papiſts* have done

done might presently be charg'd upon our Religion, & we then to suffer for it; I say since he has bin pleasd thus do deal with us, I must now desire him at our parting to reflect a little better on his Text, & to rēmember (*the truth of a Religion being it seem's to be known by its fruits*) That if a few *Catholiques* were whedled, (& that by the artifice of one of his own Church) into a design of *Blowing up their Prince*, The *Reformed* not only design'd the same thing, but perform'd it also; & this upon no meaner a person than the Father of K. *James* himselfe. Nor were the *Conspirators* two or three indigent younger Brothers, *but the Earls of Murrey, Morton, Bothwell &c.* that *blew him up*, as we finde it in [a] *Sanderson* & elsewhere; so that the Treasons of Papists (wee see) are so far from being unparelleld, that they have bin (even in the kinde) out done by Protestants; performance beeing a much higher step then intention. Nay Protestants have bin their Masters & Examples in most of the Crimes (as I have all along showd you) that have ever bin layd at our dores.

[a] *Sand. K. I. p.* 47. & 59.

XXIX. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

But suppose *My Lords and Gentlemen*, (which never

never can be granted) that all the Papists of that age were consenting; Will you be so severe then still to punish the Children for their Fathers faults? Nay, such Children that so unanimously joyned with you in that glorious Quarrel, wherein you and we underwent such sufferings, that needs we must have all sunck, had not our mutual love assisted.

29. Answer.

He says, *I suppose falsly, to avoid truth, for Who says all Papists then were consenting, or Who can deny that some in this age be of the same Principles With those Traytors? and though we be not punisht for our* Predecessors *actions, yet we ought to be restrained, that We may not do like them. Though I would, he says, shuffle men of these Principles (by the word* unanimously) *among them that served the King, yet those good Servants are not so many, but the others may be easily distinguisht. Concerning them that only suffered With the Royallists, my Adversary thanks for their love, but not for their assistance: for the Protestant Cavaliers could not sink lower, but some of us floated like cork, and others swam upon the bladders of dispensation; and therefore as they received no help from our swimming, so they apprehend no assurance of us by our sufferings.*

39. *Reply.*

29. *Reply.*

Is not my Requeſt, *Reader*, agreable to Juſtice; nay to what *King James* profeſt in his ſpeech; & what even [a] *Cecil* himſelfe repeated as his Majeſties deſire? to wit, *That the generel ſhould not be condemned for particulars.* What has my Adverſary alſo now added, that confutes the leaſt hint in this Section of the Apology? Was there any man of our Party that did not faithfully ſerve the King to his power? and which of us in his Majeſties abſence wanted eſteeme among the reſt of the Cavaliers, according to his ranck and quality? was there any Party in *England* more depreſt than we? Were not Prieſts of all Orders hanged? did not others die in priſon? Had not we three times more Eſtates ſold then any people elſe? and were not the Laws put in force, ſo that from them that had ſomething left, two parts of it were preſently ſwept away? *Cromwel* by his Maxims kept us poor, becauſe *we ſhould not be ſerviceable to the King*; and now that he is returned, *my Adverſary* thinks fit to *adviſe*, as he calls it, *our reſtraint* (which in plain *Engliſh* is to uſe us, as that tyrannous

[a] *Sand. K. I. p.* 336.

Traytor

Traytor was wont) for fear we should do like our predeceſſors, *i. e. aſſiſt his Majeſty*; for I am ſure all of them contributed, and many confirmed their duty with their Blood. Can there therefore be on Earth greater meaneſſe then this, not only to be forgetful in proſperity, but thus with calumny to aſperſe thoſe who were faithful fellow-ſufferers with the Royall Party in all their misfortunss & troubles?

Many of my Adverſarie's Anſwers that follow are of no manner of moment, & therefore, though I ſet them down, I shall ſay nothing to them.

XXX. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

What have we done, that we should now deſerve your Anger? Has the Indiſcretion of ſome few incenſt you? 'Tis true, that is the thing Objected.

30. Anſwer.

Sir, our anger is only a neceſſary care, that what you call your indiſcretions, may not grow up to be ſuch, as you lately called your miſdemeanours.

XXXI. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Do not you know an Enemy may eaſily miſtake

miſtake a Maſſe-Bell, for that which calls to Dinner?

31. Anſwer.

We know he may upon a Faſt-day, for then you uſe to ring your Veſper-Bell before Dinner; And how can a ſimple Heretick tell, whether it call you to pray, or to eat Fish? But we do not know, that ever any of you was brought into trouble about that Queſtion.

XXXII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Or a Sequeſtrator be glad to be affronted being Conſtable; when 'twas the hatred to his perſon, and not preſent Office, which perchance egg'd a rash man to folly?

32. Anſwer.

Poſſibly he may be glad of it; For 'twas the Jeſuitical diſtinction between Perſon and Office, that firſt helpt him to be a Sequeſtrator, and now he ſees the diſtinction come in play, he may hope to have his place again.

32. *Reply.*

The ringing of a *Maſſe Bell in Lancashire*, the affronting a *Conſtable*, & one or

or two things of the same nature, were the only Accusations brought against us in that great & furious storme *Anno* 66, which now my Adversary think's fit to forget, but had it bin for his turne, we should, I am sure, have heard of it to purpose.

XXXIII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We dare with submission say, let a publick Invitation be put up against any Party whatsoever; nay against the Reverend Bishops themselves, and some malicious informer or other will alledge that, which 'twere far better to conceal. Yet all mankind by a Manifesto on the House-door are encouraged to accuse us; Nor are they upon Oath, though your Enemies and ours take all for granted and true.

33. Answer.

He says, *here's an ambush for Bishops to have them esteemed Popish, because I reverence them; and render the obnoxious in such matters, which I say, were far better to conceal. But he knows my kindnesse, and defies my malice. They are* Donna Olympia's *Bishops that need concealment; but the Bishops of* England *are of another make, than to hold their credit at any ones*

courteſie. He farther ſays, what could the Parliament do leſſe, then invite the People to bring in their grievances to the place of Redreſſe? and 'twas great hardſhip, that the Houſe of Commons did not give Oaths to the Accuſers, which no Houſe of Commons ever did upon any occaſion.

33. *Reply.*

If my reſpects to the Prelats of *England* have offended him, I am ſorry for it; & ſince they are now zealous for Monarchy, I wiſh they had no greater Enemies then Papiſts. But if there be an ambuſh laid for them, Judge, Reader, whether we, or the *Cobler* of *Gloceſter* has done it. 'Tis an uſual phraſe among Catholicks when they ſhew the wickedneſſe of falſe Accuſers, to ſay they are ſo abominable that they will not ſtick to calumniate the Church it ſelf, therefore I think kind expreſſions ought to have had a better requital. For *Donna Olympia's Bishops*, I ſuppoſe thoſe of our Kingdom take themſelves to be of the ſame make; for hers received their *Orders from Rome*, and from the ſame Fountain, the Church of *England* pretends to *derive all true Ordination*. My Adverſary needed not to have told me, *that the Commons cannot*

admi-

administer Oaths, for I know the *Orders* of that House, better perchance than himselfe. I was not troubled that no Oath was given, but seing that none could be given, 'twas hard methought, that the whole Town should receive all things as unquestionable truths, though the Accusers were (as I said) profest Enemies to us, and lately to the very Kingdom also. But now, I thank God, men understand themselves much better; for Lies can never long endure.

XXXIV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

It cannot be imagined, where there's so many men of heat and youth (overjoy'd with the happy Restauration of their Prince, and remembring the Insolencies of the former Grandees) that they should all at all times prudently carry themselves), for this would be to be more then men: And truly wee esteem it as a particular blessing, that God has not suffer'd us (through vanitie or frailty) to fall into greater faults, then are yet, as we understand, laid to our charge.

34. Answer.

He says, *If a Jesuite keep the reckoning, the King will ever be in our debt; for We pretend that our old Treasons were upon the ac-*

count

count of his Family, and our late insolencies upon the score of his Restauration. Then he asks, whether I would seriously perswade men, that at six years distance We were still transported with that blessing. There were, he says, fresher causes of jollity suspected by many, who saw our joy, while the fire raged in London, *and two potent Enemies hovered on our Coasts.*

34. *Reply.*

Many of the Accusations (*Reader*) against us, were of two or three years standing and more, and no one thing would have been taken notice of in any men but Papists. Let a man then consider this soberly, and he will finde it no little wonder, that so many Catholiques of all Ranks, Sexes, Ages, and humours, should for above six years together never so far indulge to their Passions, as to commit a fault fit to trouble a Parliament with, though from all Countries the violentest of their Enemies came to offer up their complaints against them. For my part I do greatly admire at it, & cannot but acknowledge a particular Providence assisting; nor ought we to forget to thank the Publisher of the Accusation or Libel,

call'd

call'd *The Enquiry of the Committee of Parliament, about the firing the City, etc.* of which you shall hear more in the next Section; for by malitiously intending us harm, it has done us all the right imaginable.

XXXV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Can we chuse but be dismay'd (when all things fail) that extravagant Crimes are fathered on us? we are they that must be the Authors, some say, of firing the Citie, even we that have lost so vastly by it. Yet truly in this our ingenuity is great, since we thinke it no Plot, though our Enemie, an *Hugonot* Protestant, acknowleged the fact, and was justly executed for his vain Confession. Again, if a Merchant of the Church of *England* buy Knives for the buisinesse of his Trade, this also presently is a Popish contrivance to destroy the well-affected.

35. Answer.

He sayes, *Though we lost vastly by this fire, yet We may still be suspected by any body that considers* Garnets *determinations*, viz. *that the innocent & guilty may be destroyed, so it be to a farther good. The losse* (he says) *goes not it seem's to my heart, when I can be so pleasant as to call* Hubert *my enemy, and a* Hugonot *Protestant.* 'Tis *true after that* Hubert *had been at Confession with Father* Hervey

Hervey; *he ſayd he was a Proteſtant; but (it being beyond his inſtructions) he denied he was a* Hugonot, *which he might well do, becauſe he ſaid, he thought confeſſion to a Prieſt neceſſary to ſalvation, and alſo repeated an* Ave Mary, *which he ſaid, was his uſual Prayer. 'Tis evident therefore that he was no* Hugonot, *nor Proteſtant, nor enemy to Papiſts upon the account of Religion.*

35. *Reply.*

Concerning this *Frenchman* that pretended to burn the City, you muſt know, *he was ſon to a Proteſtant, a Proteſtant himſelfe in* France, *& had been of the* French *Proteſtãt Church in* England; *To the Committee, and to the Judge at the Bar, he profeſt he was then a Proteſtant, and ſo he died at the Gallows.* Nay, when I my ſelfe the other day was at *Roan*, the ſaid *Hubert's* Uncle (who is a Watch-maker, & a *Hugonot*) told me *that this Nephew of his (as all his Relations are) was alwayes of the Reformed Religion, & that the whole family were much beholden to* Dr. Durel *of the* Savoy, *for endeavouring to ſave his life, by reaſon he was then beſides himſelfe, as formerly he had ſometimes bin.* Certainly it was no Argument of his being no Proteſtãt, becauſe he (as my *Adverſary* ſays)

Of Hubert the pretended firer of London.

esteemed Confession; for I know many Protestants that have used it, some Divines have written in behalfe of it, and I remember Dr. *Wild was mightily for it, when he governed his flock in Fleetstreet.* An *Ave Mary* is Scripture, and whosoever reads the Angel's *Salutation* & *St. Elizabeth's*, does at that time actually say one. But if no body, that holds odde & peculiar opinions, is a Protestant, then I must conclude there are very few in the World. For though most of them may agree in Negatives, as to what we hold, yet when they come to tell us their own positive Doctrin, they then presently jar, & divide (as by experiēce we see they do) till at last there happen among them as many Religions as men.

But, before I go farther, I must tell my Reader who this F: *Hervey* is. By Nation he his a Low-Countryman, having with leave enterd himselfe among the English Jesuits, as several do, that desire to spend their whole life in Mission. He is an antient, quiet, and pious man, & though 'tis lately I knew him, yet I soon found him to be of a holy & Angelical conversation. Many Priests being from to time time imprisoned, brought him acquainted with *Newgate*, where sometimes he assisted those that went to die. This I call high

charity

charity in any man of any Sect, to take pains to make another of that Religion, which his Conſcience tells him is moſt agreable to God: Nor is there any humane intereſt or Policy in thus aſſiſting Malefactours, for they are poor of themſelves, and ſure to die the next Execution day. Upon this occaſion Mr. *Hervey* met with our *French Hugonot* (the pretented firer of *London*) & had ſo much diſcourſe about Religion with him, that he deſir'd to be inſtructed in the Catholique Doctrin. At the adminiſtration of the Communion, the Company were demanded, whether they received it according to the *Roman* Cathdlique faith; *Hubert* ſaid, *He had nothing to do with Roman*, and therefore the Sacrament was refuſed him; nor did Mr. *Hervey* ever ſe him after. This is the true Srory, which I had from Mr. *Hervey's* own mouth; But, pray, what is the *Frenchman* to us, had he been *Papiſt*, though (as it happened) he lived and died otherwiſe? For my part, I believe there are few *Frenchmen* now in *London*, but would be glad to ſee it on fire again, either for an opportunity to ſteal, or to advantage their Prince in any War with the Nation; Nor do I doubt but Engliſhmen alſo would be as kind to *Paris*, were it

of any Emolument to us.

Conſider therefore, Reader, I beſeech you, my Adverſary, and though 'tis at no time my humour to give foul language, yet I muſt ſay he has ſhown much malice & ill Nature againſt us. For he has accuſed us of the *Murther of King Charles*, *of the cauſe of the English, Irish, and Scotish War, the triumphing at our Misfortunes at Sea, the rejoycing for the Enemies being upon our Coaſt, and then laſtly the burning of* London *it ſelf*; yet all this is urged without any manner of proof; no not ſo much as with the leaſt probability.

Is one detraction againſt one onely man a ſin, and punishable at the Judgment-ſeat of God hereafter; and ſhall ſuch various aſperſions againſt ſo many of the beſt account in *England* paſſe for a toy? 'Tis a part of our Faith to thinke, that no *Detractor* can without Repentance eſcape eternal punishment, even for wronging & defaming the very Crucifiers of *Chriſt*. If then a wo be denounc't againſt ſuch, what will become of them, that aſperſe his Members? God open therefore my Adverſary's Heart & make him ſenſible that without ſatisfaction there is no forgiveneſſe. Nay, the effects of his crimes have riſen to this, to encourage other men to

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do the like; for not long after, there was publisht the *Enquiry* before mention'd, and at last the wickednesse of the Author laid it at the doors of the *King*, *Duke*, *General*, *L. Craven*, *Chief Justice*, and others of the greatest account in the Nation.

All that the Author say's against Papists, is in truth to justifie them, for no better Accusation could be found, then *that several Frenchmen were busie about the fire: that a Jesuite with a Bishop-sattin Suit (over which was a frock) came and fired a House (the fire it self being* as the Libeller confesses, *within six doors of it) and when He was apprehended, he spake Latin without any necessity.* Then he tells, *that the Pope was defended by one Carpenter*, who you must know is so far from being our friend, that he is an *Apostate* Priest; *& that one or two poor women were sollicited to be Papists, and told, Now was the time, for if they neglected this opportunity they should not be regarded hereafter.* Nay, when nothing could be thought on against Papists, *He cites Verses* (only found as he cõfesses in *Westminster-Hal*) *to threaten Protestants into Popery. And then he tell's us of another Paper* (written by a Papist newly turned Protestant, and found in a Pew by a Templer) *in which*

the Convert desires all Protestants to pursue Papists, for they had a design to cut their throats. This is the effect of the Pamphlet, which I would have every body read, for nothing can be a greater Vindication to us, than such inconsiderable and sence-lesse Lies.

The Effect of the Sr du Molin's Stories.

And truly, when I consider these with the Stories against Papists *in the Answer to Philanax*, and how both are exactly made in the same mode and figure, I should not doubt but that the *Sr du Moulin was the Author*, were not the Libel so severe against his *Countrymen* the *French*. And pray Reader, consider here the Justice of God, who is a God of retaliation always: for as the Dr. *strove to incite* the people by his malitious falsities (which have not the least probability of truth, and which would involve all the Loyal Catholiques of *England* with one or two guilty men, if there had been any such) so now there are spread such a number of Lies about our danger from the *French*, that people are ready to stone all they meet; and should the rabble run into a sudden fury (as God knows but they may) *Mr. du Moulin and his Family* may perchance also go sharers with his *Countrymen*; for his being a free Denizen would be thought a weak

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Argument by the outragious and over-heated multitude.

But here I must make a little digression, & acquaint you *Reader*, that after this *Reply* was in the Presse, & far advanc'd, there was sent me a new Book (as 'twas term'd) of the *Sieur du Moulin*, though it prov's only old weather-beaten Collections of his *Fathers*, by the name of *Papal Tyranny*, with 4 or 5 leaves of his own *Additions*, & 2 *Sermons* upon the 18th of the *Revel: to call us out of the Romish Babylon*, though none have vouchsafd to obey the summons. As for the *Papal Tyranny*, if any instance in it be true, *Papists* are so far from defending it, that they detest it, & blame the loosnesse of the civil Government, that sufferd it; for the Popes Officers may be exorbitant both in their Actions & Informations, as well as those of other Princes. Has not the dutifull Publisher then, much reason to call his Father [a] *this excellent Author*, for so wonderfull a Piece, whenas 20 English *Protestants*, have with the like exaggerations proclam'd what he tell's us, before ever he was borne. The French saying is, *Il se faut faire valoir*, & by this Fury against *Popery*, our Champion, it seems, hopes to attaine it; nor should I interrupt him

About his new Booke cal'd Papal Tyrany.

[a] *Pap. Tyr. p.* 41.

him in his carriere, had he bin pleas'd to to let me remain an humble ſpectator of his mighty proweſſe & chivalry. But great Spirits can ſet no bounds to Glory, & an *Alexander* think's it not enough to ſee the grandure & magnificence of all *Aſia* bow, but the rough & home-bred *Scythian* muſt fall before him alſo. 'Tis true, the *Sieur du Moulin* complements & ſay's, *He will not contend with a Nobleman of a Family which he love's & honour's in a very high degree*; yet preſently he forget's his promiſſe, & with great heat queſtion's me concerning two things. [a] *Firſt for being one of the three that has attack'd him, for Charging the late* King's murther *on the Engliſh Jeſuits*, & in the next place *for dealing with him ſo unlike a Gentleman or Chriſtian* (as he calls it) *as to point & recommend him to the Fury of the People to be maſſacred.* Would not any one thinke after this great complaint, that I had moſt particularly defam'd him in publique; or elſe hired Ruffins to incite the Rabble againſt him? certainly one muſt have neceſſarily thought thus, & no Officer of Juſtice but would have deem'd me apprehenſible, or at leaſt fit to be bound to the Peace; & yet all *my pointing & recommending him to be maſſacred*, was only what I laid in the

[a] *Ibid. p.* 49.

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præceeding Paragraph, beeing *verbatim* the same with the former Editions. I know Reader you'l peruse it again after so brisque & peremptory an Accusation, & then you'l stand astonish'd, I dare affirme, at this notorious confidence & weakneſſe. Doubtleſſe he will give me leave without offence to terme it weakneſſe in any one that can pretend after so eager & reiterated endeavours of inciting all mankind against us by his positive accusations (as I have before [a] show'd you) *That we contriv'd the murther of the King; Tryumph'd at his execution; Glory'd in it even to Strangers that pump't us; Agitated in the Independent Army to pull downe Monarchy; & lastly in print defended Cromwell's usurpation & Government.* I say he'l give me leave doubtleſſe without offēce to call it weakneſſe in any one, that after such horrid Calumnies, & so unhumane an intention, can pretend respect, & Ceremony from his Adversaries.

[a] Rep. 3. p. 69.

But can any thing exceed his Confidence, when he taxes me with this usage? *Nay* [b] *with dealing unlike a Gentleman & a Christian with him, & that I pointed at him to be massacred*; whenas notwithstanding his unmercifull procedure against us, I only said, as you see, „ That *God* being a *God*

[b] Pap. Tyr. p. 49.

of

„ *of Retaliation*, who knew, seing He „ had earnestly stroven with falsities to „ incite the People against us, but that „ he & his Family might chance to feel „ their Fury, who by a series of Lyes were „ now so irritated against his *Countrimen* „ the *French*. Is this an *unyentleman-like* & *an unchristian-like usage of him*? Is this pointing him out to be massacred? Must he for this tell me [a] *That one would thinke that I am in greater danger of the fury of the People, than he, if I appeare in my new shaven crown or Romish Priests habit?* Truly I neither am of that *Habit*, nor worthyof it; & as I never fear'd to appeare where (without disparagement to him) much better men, than the *Sieur du Moulin* frequent, so I hope whilst I live, I shall never do any thing that may deservedly abbridge me of it.

[a] *Ibid.* P. 49.

But since *he has* (as I say'd) *so confidently tax't me* (though innocent both in part & in the whole) *of dealing with him unlike a Christian*, let us see how he has made amends for his more than Pagan usage of us by those monsterous-Stories, which I now come from mentioning. Who could imagin (having bin so often & so notoriously dar'd) but that he would have either prov'd his Accusations, or in-

ingeniously acknowleged his mistake & rashnesse? This is the duty of every Christian, & this might have bin expected from any one, that beares that happy Title; but in lieu of it, like another *Pharao*, he harden's his own heart, & certainly 'tis hardned beyond conception, or else he would never have offer'd, to have publickly urged what follows either as pertinent or realonable.

For first, as to the Defiance sent to him, to make good his charge lay'd against the *English Jesuits*, to wit, *of contriving the King's death*, he sayes, he would have us consider, *that he has offer'd in his Book to justify it, whensoever Autority will require it, & therfor he ought not to Answer any summons that proceeds not from Autority.* Dos not this Answer befit the *Sieur du Moulin*? yet Reader, that you may be still more amazed, be pleas'd to heare what he adds by way of Confirmation. *But* [a] (continues he) *the Jesuits were so far from suing for such a summons, that when my Book came forth, after they had clamor'd & storm'd 4. or 5. dayes, they imployed the greatest strength they had in Court to stop my Pen by Autority from writing any more. This behaviour of the Jesuits (for which I have undeniable proofs) is the greatest evidence that*

[a] Pap. Tyr. p. 51.

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can be of their guilt, unlesse it be their Silẽce these eleven yeares, whereas they ought to have sued their Accuser, as soon as the Accusation came forth.

May I not here ask again, whether this be not a French Answer, & befitting the *Sr. du Moulin?* Did ever *Christian* before accuse men openly of the greatest *Treason* imaginable, & after that he has bin defied by *Papists*, & sollicited by *Protestants* to the Proof, then to reply to this Effect; *Your humble servant Gentlemen, I kisse your hands; I engaged to answer no summons but what issues from Authority; Remmember you storm'd at my Book: You would have stop'd my Pen: Your silence shows your guilt; Sue me, sue me, for the law is free.* Stop your pen, *Monsieur du Moulin* after all this? Why Sir with your pardon theres more danger of our being accused of Bribing you to go on, & I am sure Papists have bin charg'd with far more improbable intrigues.

But you have (you say) *undeniable proofs for it*, & yet when we shall desire you to produce them, you'l be still as tenacious as an Usurer, & part with none of them, *unlesse the summons issues from Autority*, though, you know, we come not at all to Court. I must confesse

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notwithstanding you are not altogether unreasonable, since you give us free leave *to Sue our Accusers*, though thereby you have injur'd more the Author of the *Seasonable Discourse*, than you are aware of. For he strives to show us, that *Popery will be prejudicial to the long Robe, or Professors of the law*; whereas if we may legally *Sue*, & have an *Action* for every slander recieved, those Gentlemen will get more money, I'l be bound in one yeare by us, than ever was got by their whole Society since the *Reformation*. Is not this Reader an excellent way of arguing? dos it not also plainly prove that we are not abus'd & injur'd *because we never sue our Adversaries*? & had we not reason then, do you thinke, *to stop such a Pen*? But since by your serious looks *Monsieur du Moulin*, you would fain seem to be in earnest, give me leave to aske you, how tis possible for any *English Protestant* to suffer or endure this Gasconade? For is it not preferring your selfe before all their *Divines*; even before Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, & my present *Adversary*; men I must tell you that have show'd more wit & dexterity, (for this may be as well seen in a bad Cause as a good one) then all the *Messieurs de la Religion*, that ever had to do with

Sedan

Sedan or *Charanton*. I say do not you by this extravagant vapour infinitely esteem your selfe above them; & would have the world look upon you as the only *Atlas* of the *Church* of *England*; for none of their learnedest Members ever yet pretended, *that we endeavourd to stop their Pens*, unlesse it were with the like weapon; & I am sure if we fear'd not English men, we much lesse apprehend Aliens & Strangers. Seing then Sr. you are so excellent at your *Pen*; let us a little consider it's next Stroke, to wit; how you now prove your old [a] song, *That the Priest & Confessor flourisht with his sword when the Kings head was cut off.*

[a] *Vid. Rep. 3. p. 69.*

You tell us [b] forsooth *that it was in print thrice before you ventur'd upon it, twice by Mr. Pryn, & once by Mr. Fooks, & that upon Mr. Pryns credit you alledg'd it, having written to him upon the noise made about it, which he confirmd by a Letter still in your keeping.* And is this do you fancy to be lookt upon as a good Reason? why did not you then in your following Editions cite your Autority, *Since there was such a noise about it*; &, I thinke, we had reason to make a *Noise*? Oh Sr. it was because you knew men would laugh at you for such an *Autority*.

[b] *Pap. Tyr. p. 51.*

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& therfor you believ'd your own better.
But ſuppoſing now that *Mr. Pryn*, & *Mr. Foolis* were your Authors; & by the way *Mr. Foolis* wrot much later than your Book of 11. yeares ſtanding; I ſay ſuppoſing this, Have they given the leaſt proof, or ſhew of a proof of it in theſe their writings? Or did not you know that *Mr. Pryn* had printed 20. Calumnies againſt the *King* himſelfe, againſt the *Queen*, & againſt the *Biſhops*, as well as againſt *Papiſts*, & could your Divinity then upon ſuch a Man's Autority, diſpenſe with abuſing & defaming ſo many great Noblemen & Gentlemen, when as you were ſure, that the leaſt fault of any one of us would involve (according to the *Proteſtant Juſtice*) the whole party? Had not you alſo ſufficient knowlege of *Mr. Pryn's* being a Parliament man, & that if the Accuſation had had the leaſt ſhadow of truth, we ſhould have heard of it to purpoſe? This Sr. you knew & much more, yet ſtill you printed & reprinted without any remorſe, & at laſt with a moſt *Chriſtian like* Charity, & with an *Innocence* equal to the chaſte *Lady's* in Scripture, *You wipe your mouth, & aske what have I done?* You have done Sr. that, I muſt tell you again, which unleſſe you repent

repent, you will sufficiently feel in the world to come; nay in this also, were it not legal sometimes to overrule *Magna Charta* it selfe, when a poor Papist comes to plead it.

But now let us goe to the 3d Stroke of your *Pen*, which is about the *Friers of Dunkirke*, *who told* (you [a] remmember) *the understanding Gentleman that came to pump them, That the Jesuits would fain engrosse the Honour of the King's Death to themselves, though, the truth was, they had labour'd as effectually as the Jesuits to compasse it.* This Story I finde still the same, without welt or gard, without the offer of the least Proof or Autority, & as magisterially set down in your new booke as before; Only this I confesse, that because you have bin so often houted at for it, & told that (besides the senselesnesse of the thing) *there were never either English, Scotch, or Irish Friers at Dunkirke*, you now tell us, [b] *they were French or Flemish*; wheras the *French* never resided here, 'till our *King* gave up the other day the town to them; & for the *Flemmish*, I would fain know, how they poor men (who were never heard of before, nor since) got this Interest in the Nation; & certainly 'tis no smal Interest to be able to bring about the *King's Death*.

[a] *Vid. Rep.* 3. *p.* 72.

[b] *Pap. Tyr. p.* 51.

Why

Why the short & the long of the buſineſſe is, they were moſt profound & unfathomable Politicians, as we finde by their diſcourſe with the *Pumper*, & perchance they were *Conjurers* alſo; for many men ſay *Frier Bacon* was one. Nay theſe *Flemmish Magicians*, theſe *ſage Alcanders*, were as deepe Stats-men, every inch of them, as the[a] 30. *Jeſuits on the Road near Roan, who told the Proteſtant Stranger, That they were going into England to be Agitators in the Independent Army.* But *Reader* I muſt here informe you, that the *Sieur du Moulin's* delicate & fine pen begin's to dash & blot; for he has now left out this excellent Novell about the *Jeſuits*, which I know will be an affliction to the Coffé Droll, who made (as I formerly told you) ſo much good uſe of it.

[a] *Vid. Rep.* 3. p. 72.

This rare *Pen* ſtop's not thus, but has show'd another dexterous feate; for it has at laſt (we thanke it's Maſter) markt *Mr. White for a condemn'd Perſon*, & croſt his very name out of the Tables, or Regiſter of the Society, not owning him any longer for a Jeſuit. Can any man therfor ſay, black is the *Sieur du Moulin's* eye? For though we have made a *noiſe* theſe 10 yeares, for this inhumane injury & wrong done us (in laying without

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shame the Workes of a censur'd man again & again at our dores) Yet perchance he deem'd himselfe *not oblig'd to answer our summons*, 'till he had first written to the Pope (*though a Stranger*) as he did we see to *Mr. Pryn*, to know whether 'twas true or no; Nor was his *Holinesse* lesse civil it seems than Mr *Pryn*; for the *Sieur* is not only now well satisfied of *Mr Whites condemnation*, but gives us the reasons of it, which doubtlesse he had in the *Popes* Letter, since he tell's it with such Assurance & Gravity; viz, [a] *That though it be a wonder, that the Pope who uses not to hinder or censure Treason, should condemne Mr White's book of Obedience & Government, which is so full of Treason, yet besides the Indignation which that Writer had incurr'd by his other books, the Pope could not but take offence at his ascribing the power unto the people of altering the Government at their pleasure, a power which the Pope claims in all Kingdomes, & in England more than any.* This is the Reason he gives for the *Censure*, & by it appeares, that his Holinesse is more communicative & free with him, than with the Author of the *Reasonable Defence*, who is not (we [b] may perceive) a quarter so particular. But shortly I'l warrant you *Reasons will be common as Black-berries*; & as so many *Protestant Writers*

[a] *Pap. Tyr. p.* 48.

[b] *Vid. Rep.* 3. *f.* 78.

Writers have long knowingly defam'd our Religion with *Mr Whites* transgreſſion, ſo now 'tis evident, we ſhall have them all run upon the ſame ſent, & bolt Reaſons as faſt, as men do Coneys in a Warren, concerning the Popes procedure in this buiſineſſe; for the Spirits of malicious men, are ſo far from being ſatisfied, that they are the more provokt & incensd by good Actions.

But before I conclude with the *Sieur du Moulin*, I muſt humbly ask him pardon, for ſaying that his famous & never to be forgotten Tale of the *Dunkirke Fryers*, is againe told without the offer of the leaſt proof or Autority; for he has prov'd it beyond all imagination, by telling us, *that he will match this paſſage with another upon his own credit*; ſo that now he is no longer on the credit of *Mr Pryn*, *Mr Foulis*, or the *underſtanding & pumping Gentleman*, but *on his own*, as follow's. *Travelling* (ſayes he) *into Warwickshire I was accoſted in my Inne by a Traveller, who askt me, whether I were a Catholique. I told him I was. Whereupon he made a paſſionat diſcourſe of the Grievances of Catholiques. I told him that there would have bin another world had the Powder taken* fire at Weſtminſter. *He with a deep ſigh anſwer'd, It* [a] *Pap. Tyr. p. 52.*

was not God's pleasure. I knowing my selfe not good at long dissembling parted with him suddainly, full of abhorrency & compassion together of such a Zealous villainy, but with more thankfulnesse to God for preserving his Israel from the claws & fangs of those bloody Tigers.

This is the killing *passage*; & truly I confesse that it *matches* all that he has ever yet say'd, & moreover that there is profound Mystery in the very words. For what can be more *great* & *surprising*, than to begin with *Tyranny* & conclude with *Tygers*; beasts that have not only a perfect analogy & agreement with the nature of *Tyrants*, but carrie also a ravishing harmony & gingle in the very sound; nay I see his *Pen* is as excellent in *matching* Epithets as *Passages*; for *Papal* & *Bloudy* still goe as synonimous with him & his fellows, so that doubtlesse there could not be a more happy hit, than the pritty allusion & consent of the two first, & last words of his Worke.

This sort of Cabalistical learning is certainly very ingenious, though perchance some may be so fantastical as to deride it; & who knows also but the said *matching passage* may run the like fate. Few question (I dare say) the truth of this

History,

History, but yet there may be people in the world, that can ſmile at an *Hiſtorian*, who like a greedy Hawke tak's every Lure for a Pigeon, let it be never ſo monſtrous & ill made. Is it uſual for men in *Innes*, ſince Knight-errantry has bin out of fashion, to recount to an *unknown Traveller* the Adventures of their Lives, & misfortunes, that attend them? Is there a more affronting queſtion to a *Stranger* than to aske him what *Religion* he is of; becauſe it may (beſides other privat Reaſons) chance to be one obnoxious to penalties & eſtablis'ht Lawes. Or are *Catholiques* ſo ſilly, that if any man dos but ſay, that he is of their Church, they preſently impart all their ſecrets to him, & ſuch alſo that are altogether wicked, & may prejudice both themſelves & friends? But by your permiſſion *Sir*, Is it not more probable, nay can it in reaſon be fancy'd otherwiſe, but that ſome Fellow itching (as there are thouſands of that humour) to abuſe the *Miniſtry* of the Nation; for 'tis no hard thing I ſuppoſe upon the Road to know one of them, though it may be to gueſſe at his ranck & quality, & eſpecially at all his hereditary & acquir'd Titles, if he be *Mr.* of as many, as the Front of your excellent writings are charg'd with.

I say can it in Reason be fancied otherwise, than that such a one having a minde to make sport with an Itinerant Divine, & critically knowing what putts *Doll Common in her Extasie*, gently drops out the word *Papist* &c, which presently (as the witty *Transproser* has it in another case) *sets him on fire like the Island of Fayal in threescore & ten places at a time.* Thus stood your case Sr; or if you were really known, then the designe was not upon you, but your *Pen*, being found by experience thus far the nimble Instrument *of a ready Writer*, that if it once gets loose, neither improbability nor impossibility can stop it in it's course & fury.

Tis then with this wilde story that you end your *Papal Tyranny*, & by it let the world judge of the rest of them; as also how much reason we had to hinder you (as you upbraid us) from writing any more. But pray what reason had you to designe an Abuse, & (as you thought it) a wonderfull jeer, by telling me of a *Priest's Habit, & shaven Crown*, things, that I would glory in, instead of being asham'd of, were they true. 'Twas beyond all peradventure to show that you are resolv'd to be right in nothing, whether little

or

or great; for my *Crown* is so far from being *shaven*, that whereas hertefore both it & my whole head were w'ont to be twice a week, now I have not troubled my Barber this yeare in the case. But Sr. by the way let me tell you, that had I shaven as often as formerly, you & I should not have now (I'l assure you) so soon parted as we do, for I would have persuaded you much more earnestly not to rely so entirely on this wonderfull *Pen* of yours, & further have let you seen how prevaricating or (in your own Countrey Phrase) how *Bizarre* it is, nay have taken the boldnesse to have shown you of what feather or quil twas made of. But Sr. (besides this little flurt of your notable pen) Is this *the Love & Honour which in a very high degree* (you say) *you have for my Family*, not only to accuse their Relation (as I mention'd before) of *not doing like a Gentleman* (which in strictnesse & justice is not being one) but to unchristen him also? Certainly 'tis an ill way of making good your Compliment; yet you may be well excus'd, since 't'is a reciev'd Maxime concerning the *a la mode* Men of your Nation, (& I suppose in their good qualities you come short of none of them) *That they neither write as they speak, nor speak as they*

they thinke. As for my Gentility it concerns my Family (*Which you so love & honour*) & therfor let them examin their Writings & Evidences about it, if they thinke fit; But as for my being a *Christian*, which touches me particularly, I shall (besides the Church book still extant) give you this proof, viz: That I heartily beseeech God to forgive you all the wrong & mischief ignorantly, or wilfully intended me or any other Catholick by you, or your *Pen*; & for my own part (though I have as much Interest, I must tell you, with my Relations as other Gentlemen have) I shall never, upon my account, desire any of them to show you lesse kindeness & civility than they were wont.

'Tis now Sir, high time to take my leave, & you see (by what I have already
ap. 69. said in the 3d *Reply*) how upon necessity I came to be engag'd with you: *my Adversary* having abus'd us with one of your vain *Stories*, & imbib'd your *Divinity*, by which it seem's, (for you have no other way to clear your selfe of a crying sin) *If any ill or slight Man in the World start's a villanous calumny, you make it lawfull for another to repeat it hand over head, though it appeare never so ridiculous & senseless.* And because you here pretend that your

Answer

Answer to Philanax has bin unanswer'd these 11. yeares, I must entreat you to boast no more; for whereas its whole being & drift consist only in showing *The ill Actions of Popes, the ill opinions of Popish Writers, the Practice of the English Papists, & the like*; as also *a vindication of the Protestants in France, Holland, &c.* I say since its whole being & drift consist in this, let me beseech you to boast no more; for (besides other books) Both the *Editions of this Reply*, & more particularly the *Present* (as appears by the *Index*) have fully answerd you to all Intents & purposes whatsoever. 'Tis true, no body (that I know) has made it his whole worke to trouble you; but whats that to the matter, if the effect & substance of all your Discourse prove false & erronious? And this I believe was the cause that your own *Antagonist* reply'd not; & since he thought fit to sit still, 'tis not the Custome (otherwise than I told you) of *Catholique Writers* to thrust their sicle into another man's harvest, unless some particular & pressing accident should require it. Thus having (besides my own buisinesse with you) made a Discovery of a *Popish* Intrigue, & promissing you that by & by, you shall hear of our fellow-Plotter *Del Rio* (whom

(whom my *Adversary* has cited, & you by way of Retaliation have taken at the rebound) I kisse your hands & rest for the present, *Vostre Serviteur tres-humble.*

Whether the Fire were design'd.

Now concerning the Fire it selfe Reader, I could never, as I said, thinke it a design, notwithstanding a *Protestant Hugonot confest the fact*; and my reason was, because no body in his Senses would have bin so foolish with deliberatiõ to venture his life, when 'twas not only odds he should be found out, but that the fire would be stopt before it came to the third house. How often have we seen it in the narrow places of *London*? how often in the *ill-building of King-street*? how often *in the Paper-houses of the Strand, Charing Crosse &c.* and yet for all this (whether it happened by night or by day) it was quencht without any remarkable spoil. Besides, 'tis impossible, if either *Protestants*, *Papists*, *Presbyterians* or *Phanatiques* had effected so great a work, but we should have presently found some prosecution of their design, as either to be in Arms, to invite in our forren Enemies, or at least wise to raise tumults in the hurry. But on the contrary, there has not been since, any preparation for a rising in any part of the Nation; nay, which is more, for all that thir-

thirteen thousand Families were to seek new habitations, and all the rest of the Town disordered to the height, yet there was not the least riot, though the accident it self might have occasioned a sedition, without being animated by Conspirators. Notwithstanding all this, the Papists were accus'd of the Fact, which few of us wonderd at, knowing how the *Roman Christians* of old had undergone the like calumny, & that 'twas usual to charge on us all odious things from the very beginning of the Reformation. Nay we finde it in *Fa. Parsons* (who was then a middle aged man) *That even the firing of the Steeple of St. Pauls in Queen Elizabeths Reigne was lay'd at our dores.* But though all sober men still derided that mighty & foolish noise, about this late dreadful *Fire*, yet *Mr. Pryn* & others could say in the hearing of many; *That it matter'd not whither the Papists were guilty, but 'twas fit the world should believe them so*; which malicious report (though it tooke for a while) not only *Dr. Gumble* (in the [a] *General's life*) condemn's, saying, *That no wise man can believe, that this Fire was begun & continued by Practice*, but the Author of the *whole Duty of Man* dos

[a] p. 445.

does the like, & consequently detests the villainous endeavour of having it beleev'd a Designe; for speaking of this Fire, [a] *Whatsoever Industry* (sayes he) *has bin us'd to intitle either the Negligence or the* DESIGNES *of* MEN *unto our Overthrow, yet sure never any Judgment had more legible marks of God's immediat hand*: Nay the very *Parliament* it selfe (after a most strict enquiry, & summoning all People to come in against us) declard it in the House to be *the hand of God*, & called it a *Judgment* in their printed [b] Act; therfor the world may see not only our Innocence, but our constant Usage also.

[a] *Vid. Pref. of Decay of Christia Piety.*

[b] *Vid. Act to rebuild the City 1667.*

XXXVI. SECT. oft the APOLOGY.

We must a little complain, finding it by experience, that by reason you discountenance us, the people rage: and again, because they rage, we are the more forsaken by you. Assured we are, that our Conversation is affable, and our Houses so many hospitable receipts to our Neigbours: Our acquaintance therefore we fear at no time, but it is the stranger we dread (that taking all on hear say) zealously wounds, and then examines the businesse when 'tis too late, or is perchance confirmed by another, that know's no more of us then he himselfe. 'Tis to you we must make our application, beseeching you (as subjects tender of our King) to intercede for us in the execution, and weigh the *Dilemma*, which doubtlesse he is in, either to deny so good a Par-

Parliament their requeſt, or elſe run counter to his Royal inclinations, when he punishes the weak and harmleſſe.

36. Anſwer.

He ſays, *he deſires only to be ſafe, for againſt our dangerous Principles, neither our affability nor hoſpitality can defend them: nor did the* Irish *ever treate Proteſtants better than the year before they cut their Throats. The beſt means of ſecurity is the execution of the Laws, by which thoſe (that renounce their diſloyal Principles) will be diſtinguiſht, and the diſloyal and ſeditious only kept weak.*

I ſuppoſe Reader you expect no Reply to ſo poor an Anſwer, & which is fraught only with thoſe malicious Taunts already reply'd to.

XXXVII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Why may not we, Noble Countrey-men hope for favour from you as well as the *French* Proteſtants find from theirs; a greater duty than ours none could expreſſe, we are ſure? Or why ſhould the *United Provinces*, and other Magiſtrates (that are harsh both in mind and manners) refrain from violence againſt our Religion, and your tender breaſts ſeem not to harbour the leaſt compaſſion or pity? Theſe neigh-

neighboring people sequester none for their Faith, but for transgressions against the State; Nor is the whole Party involved in the crime of a few, but every man suffers for his own and proper fault. Do you then the like, and he that offends let him die without mercy, & think always (we beseeche you) of *Cromwels* injustice, who for the actions of some against his pretended Laws, drew thousands into Decimation (even ignorant of the thing) after they had vastlie paid for their securitie and quiet.

37. Answer.

He says, *he has answered our instances of* French *Protestants, and* Dutch *Papists. When we governed the civilized World*, he says, *we hanged and burnt men for no cause but Faith, which proves Protestant Barbarity, better than Popish civility: yet this were little for their credit, unlesse they could say, that none of us suffered but by the known and necessary Laws of the Kingdom. 'Tis necessary to maintain the King's Authority, and* Peace *of the Nation, and if we call Religion any thing contrary to those, whether ought they to alter their Laws, or we our Religion? He says, as Inquisitors bedresse one with Pictures of Devils that is to be burnt for an Heretick, so I put* Cromwel *on any thing I would render odious, but they are*

weak

weak, that see not the difference between Cromwels *Edicts, that ruined men for Loyalty and Laws that restrained them from Treason and Rebellion.*

37. *Reply.*

This Answer is as much to the purpose, at the other, nor have I bin wanting (as may be found by the *Index*) to show the real *Protestant Barbarity* in France, Holland, England, &c. as also the *Civility of Papists*, who (notwithstanding my Adversary's Tropes, & Raillery) are every where more mercifull & indulging to Dissenters, than Protestants; nor did they ever put any to death, but by the known Laws of the land.

XXXVIII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We have no studie but the Glory of our Soveraign, and just libertie of the Subjects.

38. Answer.

Sir, If We may judge by your works, there is nothing lesse studied in your Colledge.

XXXIX. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Nor was it a mean argument of our datie, when every Catholique Lord gave his voice for

for the Restauration of Bishops; by which we could pretend no other advantage, but that 26. Votes (subsisting wholly by the Crown) were added to the defence of Kingship, and consequently a check to Anarchy and confusion.

39. Answer.

This is no argument of your Duty, for sure you are yet no Lord. Nor is it likely, that these Lords followed your direction in the doing of this Duty.

XL. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

'Tis morally impossible but that we who approve of Monarchy in the Church, must ever be fond of it in the State also.

40. Answer.

If you mean this of Papists in general, that which you mean morally impossible, is experimentally true. For in Venice, Genoa Lucca, *and the Popish Cantons of* Switzerland, *they very well approve of Monarchy in the Church, yet they are not fond of it in State also. But if you mean this of the Jesuitical Party, then it may be true, in this sence, that you would have the Pope to be sole Monarch, both in Spirituals and Temporals.*

40. Reply

40. *Reply.*

I thinke I have bin as lately at *Venice Genoa*, &c. & that I know those places as well as my *Adversary*, therfor I never meant that there were no *Popish Commonwealths*, but that our *Religion* has a more natural tendency to *Monarchy*; & this we experimentally see even at home; for in all the former civil wars of *England*, the Rebels were so far from thinking of a *Republique*, that rather than have no *King*, they would have one of another *Kingdom*; whereas the Factious of late dayes have boldly & openly declard, *that Kingship is a chargeable & useleſſe Government*; & I pray God there be not still too many of that humour among us.

XLI. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Yet this is a misfortune we now plainly feel, that the longer the late transgressors live, the more forgotten are their crimes, whilst distance in time calls the faults of our Fathers to remembrance, and buries our own allegeance in eternal Oblivion and forget fulneſſe.

41. Anſwer.

We can now allow you to complain, and commend your ſelves without meaſure, having proved already, that you do it without cauſe.

XLII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

My Lords and Gentlemen, Conſider we beſeech you, the ſad condition of the *Iriſh* Souldiers now in *England*, the worſt of which Nation could be but intentionally ſo wicked, as the acted villanie of many *Engliſh*, whom your admired Clemencie pardoned. Remmember how they left the *Spaniſh* ſervice when they heard their King was in *France*; and how they forſook the emploiment of that unkind Prince, after he had cõmitted that infinitely ill act of banishing his diſtreſſed Kinſman out of his Dominions. Theſe poor men left all again to bring their Monarch to his home, and shall they then be forgotten by You? Or shall my Lord *Douglas* and his brave *Scots* be left to their shifts, who ſcorn'd to receive Wages of thoſe that have declared War againſt *England*?

42. Anſwer.

He ſays, *That to ſwell our Bill of Merits, I take in the* Iriſh *and* Scotiſh *Souldiers, as if they*

they were a part of English *Catholicks, and as if I were the first that thought of them. God forbid,* he says, *they should not be considered; and that he is neither good Christian, no, nor good Subject, that would not contribute his proportion to it. But,* he says, *I have a drift in mentioning the* Irish, *for I mingle them with the worst of that Nation, namely, with those infamous Butchers, that cut the throats of above an hundred thousand Protestants. It was so black an action, that I knew not how to mention it, in its proper place, viz. after the* French *massacre, because I had not wherewith to colour it; but being still conscious it was a blot in our cause, I thought fit to place it here, that these brave men might mend the hue of the action. He says further, I deal as ill with the* English Royallists, *by affirming they pardoned many* English, *whose acted villanies were so wicked, that the worst of the* Irish *could be but intentionally so wicked.*

42. *Reply.*

Certainly my *Adversary* consider'd not here his words so well, as his own Party must needs have expected from him; for who will not deem it a prodigious partiality to deny us (as he do's) the good Actions of the *Irish*, & yet their bad ones

all along are lay'd at our dore; nay in this very *Paragraph* he twit's us again with their *Butchery*, & say's *I was conscious that it lay as a blot upon our Cause*; but this procedure is usual, & so let it passe with the rest.

As for the case of these poor *Irish* souldiers, it toucht me to the heart, as it do's all honest men; And will it not seem then strange Hypocrisie in my Adversary to cry, *God forbid they should not be considerd, & that he is neither a good Christian nor Subject, that would not contribute to it*; & yet He is certain their Case will not be *consider'd*, nor any *contribution* made; nay the very Drift of this & the rest of his *Books* (by which we may finde what his *contribution* will be) is to inflame the Nation against us in general, & to have the Lawes put in Execution, which out all Catholiques of their employment, let them have suffer'd never so much for their Loyalty. Nor is he content with this, but quarrels at my saying, *That the worst of the Irish could but intend the wickednesse committed by several Protestants, whom the Clemency of the Parliament pardon'd*; Whenas he well knows that many of those sacrilegious Villains, who murtherd their Lord & Master, & subverted the very Govern-

ment,

ment, got off; & what Treason can fly higher than this?

I have already treated of the whole businesse of the[a] *Irish Rebellion*; nor can any body be ignorant that many of the old *Natives* have bin seditious, & showd their hatred & malice both in their writings & actions against the *English* in general, ever since the Conquest; & that they would have us'd their *Popish Cõquerours* both with their Pens & Swords, as they did the Protestants of late, had not our Catholique Princes from time to time had a carefull eye over them; therefore their bloody inclination, or foolish Expressions proceeded not from their *Religion*, but from the nature of all subjugated People; & certainly had my Adversary (as he pretended in the beginning) had the least *Bowells* of *Cõpassion*, for the poor loyal men (whether *Scotch*, or *Irish*) that are sure now to suffer, he would never have here made this vaine, though inflaming Recapitulation.

[a] *Rep.* 1. *p.* 56.

XLIII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

How commonly is it said, That the Oath of renouncing their Religion is intended for these? which will needs bring this losse to the King & you, that either you will force all of our Faith to lay down their Armes, (though

by experience of great Integrity & worth? or else if some few you retain, they are such whom necessity has forced to swear against Conscience, & therfor will certainly betray you, when a greater advãtage shall be offer'd: By this Test then you can have none, but whom with caution you ought to shun, & thus must you drive away those that truly would serve you, for had they the least thought of being false, they would gladly take the advantage of Gain & Pay to deceive you.

43. Answer.

He asks me, *Who are said to intend this Oath, if it be those that have no Authority, 'tis frivolous; if such as have Authority, 'tis false; and he further says, that he verily believes, 'twas never said, thought, nor wisht by any one that loved either the King or Peace of the Nation.*

43. *Reply.*

I hope now by wofull experience to us, he is sufficiently satisfied, that our feares were not frivolous, & God grant him due *Sorrow* for contributing, as he has done to the misery of so many innocent & faithfull Subjects Nay (though 'tis done) he confesses *that 'twas never wisht by any one, that lov'd either the King or peace of the Natiõ.*

XLIV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We know your wisdom and generosity, and there fore cannot imagine such a thing. Nor do we doubt when you shew favour to these, but you will use mercy to us, who are both fellow-Subjects, & your own flesh & blood also. If you forsake us, we must say, the world decays, and its final transmutation must needs quickly follow, *since there is no more relying on mankind.*

44. Answer.

Here you unimagine for the Souldiers and imagine for your self: and as if you really thought your self in danger, you beg for mercy of the Royallists, in such words as your Predecessor the first Moderator *used to the Rebels. Only for the last strain we do not know that any one hit upon it before, nor do believe, that any one will ever use it again.*

Reader you must know, what is now Italicated above in the Section of the *Apology*, was formerly by negligence omitted; which is all that I shall Reply to this Answer, or that it can require.

XLV. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

Little do you think the insolencies we shall suffer by Committee-men, &c. whom chance and lot have put into petty power. Nor will it chuse but grieve you to see them abused (whom

(whom formerly you loved) even by the Common Enemy to us both.

45. Answer.

It seems Committee-men are intrusted with his Majesties Autority; or none must use it against Papists, for fear of being accounted Committee men. It is time to have done, when we are come to the dregs of your Rhetorick.

XLVI. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

When they punish, how will they triumph and say, Take this (poor *Romanists*) for your love to Kingship; and again this, For your long doating on the Royal Party; all which you shall receive from us, Commissioned by your dearest friends, and under this Cloak we will glady vent our private spleen and malice.

46. Answer.

Sir, though you set your self to speak Tragically, this does rather seem a piece of Drollery. But you have your design either way; for no man can read it, but he must either laugh, or shake his Head.

XLVII. SECT. of the APOLOGY.

We know, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, that from your

your hearts you do deplore our condition, yet permit us to tell you, your bravery must extend thus far, as not to sit still with pity only, but each is to labour for the distressed, as far as in reality his ability will reach: some must beseech our Gracious Soveraign for us, others must again undeceive the Good, though deluded Multitude. Therefore all are to remmember who are the prime raisers of the Storm, and how through our sides they would wound both the KING and You; for though their hatred to our selves is great, yet their enmity out of all measure encreases, because we have been yours (and so shall continue) even in the fiery day of trial.

Protect us, we entreat you then, upon all your former Promises; or if that be not sufficient, for the sakes of those that lost their Estates with you, many of which are now falle asleep. But if this be still too weak, we must conjure you by the sight of this Bloody Catalogue, which contains the Names of your murthered Friends and Relations, who in the heat of Battail, saved perchance many of your Lives, even with the joyful losse of their own.

47. Answer.

In answer to this last Section, he has nothing to say, but that the Rebels harrassed the Papists to make the King odious, and enrich themselves. That we were necessitated to what we did either for subsistance or Protection, but the Protestants had no such necessity. And as for the Estates we

lost

lost, his answer is; That after the Rebels had devoured ours, they fell upon the Protestant's with more colour, and never the lesse appetite.

47. *Reply.*

For any other necessity than our Duty to engage for his Majestie, I have answered
a p. 13. it at large in the a *Preface*; & for the losse of our *Estates*, my *Adversary* teaches excellent Doctrines & give's Subjects great Encouragement to hazard all they have in the like Quarrel: but every body know's we differ with him at all times in opinion, & are constant in what we hold; therefore our tried Fidelity will be still the same to our King & Countrey.

Concerning the *Catalogue* of those brave *Catholicks* that laid down their lives in this glorious Quarrel, He say's.

48. Answer.

That he can reckon a far greater number of Protestants than I can pretend to do Papists. Secondly, that I have omitted many in my List, which he could name; but this he thinks was out of design, that I might more excusably reckon some names, which I ought to have omitted, viz. My Lord of Cannarvan, who

he

he says in his extremitie refused a Priest, and ordered the Chaplain of his Regiment to pray with him.

48. *Reply.*

For my Lord *Carnarvon*, Reader, you must know, he was a Ward taken from his *Catholique Mother* by the Earle of *Pembroke*, & married to his Daughter. In the Army my Lord never marched without a Priest; & as soon as he receiv'd his death's wound he sent for his Brother in law the Lord *Herbert*, late Marq. of *Worcester*, and desired him to tell the King, *That he could do no more than die in his Quarrel; and if he would grant him this request, he would think his Majesty had sufficiently recompenced him for his life*, viz. *That his Mother might have the breeding up of his Son; to the end as he sayd, That the Child might be also educated in the Catholick Religion.* After this he received all the rites of the *Roman Church*, and died in the arms of a *Priest* still alive, that belonged both to my Lords Relations & mine. As for my *Catalogue* of those brave Catholiques that died in defence of Monarchy, I have bin often (I must tell you *Reader*) blamd by my Friends, for omitting

so many worthy ones, that have also run the same fortune; but this I could not helpe, for the said *Catalogue* was collected (for the most part) by that industrious & knowing Gentleman *Mr. T. o, Blunt*, who is much to be commended for his paines; & when I first printed the *Apology* I was so prest in time, that I could not examin it more nicely; nor have I bin since much at *London*, therfor the *Additions* cannot be very great. Yet that you may see what they are, I have now put them by themselves, & doubt not but upon a stricter enquiry to finde out the names of many more, that have thus show'd the utmost demonstration of Loyalty.

I wonder very much, I confesse, that my Aduersary urges so poor & odde a thing, as *That more Protestants dyed in this War than of our Religion*; which may easily be, seeing we are not the hundredth part of the Nation; and yet there were killed in the whole War but 212. *Protestant Lords, Knights, Commanders & Gentlemen*, as appeares by the list calld the *Royal Martyrs*: whereas by my first *Catalogue* which is here still printed as formerly, we lost 190. Catholiques of quality. Let the world then judge, whether instead of Pity & Compassion, we ought thus to be calum-

niated;

niated, not only by my Adversary, but by every impertinent Scribler.

We are now drawing towards the end of this his *Answer*, for there rest's nothing behinde but his last Farewell, which he call's his Advice, & which I have divided into 8. parts.

1st. *He desires us to be content with our former condition, and not to disparage those dayes, by calling them Martyrs, that died for Treason; nor to undervalue the Liberty we now enjoy, if it exceed not what was granted our Fathers.* To this I say, that we are contented with any favour; yet t'would be no arrogance if we require more than our Fathers had, because it seems He *accounts them all Traytors*, whenas we (as all the World knows) have shown the greatest duty that Subjects can do; but now whether our *Martyrs* died for *Treason* or Religion, the 4th. [a] Section of the *Apology* will tell us. [a] p. 88.

2ly. *Not to proclaim about Christendom for the paring of our nayls, that we are persecuted.* To this I will give a larger Answer in the *Postscript*; and will only say here, that I defie any man, to shew me in the whole world a Party that beares their misfortunes with more submission then we; & who know's not, that 'tis easie for him that

that design's advantage by his Neigbour's misery, to call even utmost Rigour *paring of Nailes.*

3ly. *To abhor them that wish disturbances or invasions to settle Popery.* To which I say, that nothing can make it more manifest that we do abhor such men, than to see, *that all Catholicks detested the Frech, eve when we were Anno* 66. *forsaken by our friends, and they (as most thought) upo the point of landing*; for then we were in war both with them & the *Dutch*.

4ly. *To keep our Religion to our selves, and not expect such harvests as we had in the late confusions.* I say, Truly we are like to keep it; for with men of my Adversary's Tēper 'twill not go down. But this I must tell him, if the late *Protestants Rebellion & Confusion* were our *Harvest*, we may chance shortly to have another, for I am sure *wronging poor Catholiques* was the Prologue of the last.

5ly. *Not to abuse the weakness of dying persons, nor convert the condemned Prisoners with drink, or by hopes of an easier way of salvation.* Certainly my *Adversary* ought not to call the condition of dying persons weak, because he and his Partysans have always found them strong & able; for I think no man ever heard *that any Catholick was converted by them at his death*; all having been able to resist that at their latter

End,

End, which worldly Interest made some in their healths yeild to: But, if Catholicks have reconciled dying persons, it must be attributed altogether to the truth of their Doctrine, for the hopes of life being taken away, men hearken then to that reason, which formerly (through temporal advantages) they earnestly opposed: Nay, few if any of them, though they recover, start back, but on the contrary persevere, & continue faithfull servants of Christ, in spight of their affur'd persecution & trouble. I say, the Conversions must needs proceed from the truth of their Doctrine, & not as my Adversary would faine have it from hopes of any easier way of salvation, because the *Protestant way* is far easier, and naturally more futable to the Inclinations of dying men; *For an ordinary trust in the merits of Christ, and an ordinary sorrow (usual to all people that are said not to die ill) will according to the Reformed Hypothesis, carry a man presently to Heaven*; whenas this (in the opinion of any Catholick) and of the dying party himselfe, will bring him at farthest but to *Purgatory*. The entrance into Heaven (as all are informed) is not so easie a passage with us; for it must be obtained with long Mortifications, conflicts, and la-

labours, far greater than those of *Hercules*; or else in men of ill lives, by some unexpressible energie at the last gasp, like that of the *Thief on the Crosse*. Vain & delusive therefore is the imagination of Protestants, for we have no other means to convert men, but (as I said) the force of truth on their Consciences, which truth in that state they can discern (as men fallen into miserie do often times the vanities of the World) when as in strengh of body (through humane designs) *like the adder, they stop their ears, let the Charmer charm never so sweetly.* Many advantages more (were it not time to have done) I could shew you, that (naturally, & humanly speaking) *Protestants* have over *Catholiques* in converting of dying People; but they never convert one, though 'tis frequently done by us in all Countreys, as they themselves confesse.

How the Popish Coverts live & dye.

And since *my Adversary* has mention'd *our converting the Condemned*, which (as I have already show'd you) can proceed from nothing but Christian *Charity* & Love, I shall now desire you to consider the fruit of it, & what a wonderfull change it makes in a poor Sinner, by your reflecting (because she was more known than others) on that wretched & no-

notorious Woman, call'd the *German Princesse*; who (though she had lived a life wicked beyond imagination, & had her heart in *Newgate* more desperate, & hardned than ever) no sooner hear'd the glad tidings *of Truth*, & was recieved within the *Pale of the Church*, but she melted into Teares, fell a sighing & sobbing for her life past, & after she had askt her Husband, her Neigbours, & all her Acquaintance a thousand, & a thousand Pardons, she dyed at *Tyburne* with that sorrow for her Offences, with that Resignation to the Will of *God*, & with that trust & Joy in the all sufficient merits of her *Saviour*, That she was not only the Discourse, but the Admiration of the whole Towne & Countrey. Let me entreat you to look upon the lives also, as well as Deathes of those, that come to us, & then shew me any one, that grow's worse. For though perchance there be some (& those as rare as black Swans) *that mend not the depravity of their first manners, yet none* (as I said) *degenerate*; but for the most part they apparently cast off the *old man*, & show the wonderfull *workings of Grace* by their holy life & Conversation.

On the other side good *Protestant Reader*, How the

Protestants Converts live & Dye.

name me that man amongst you, who having left the *Catholique Church*, fell not immediatly into all Licentiousnesse & Vice. Call but to minde *Gage*, *Cary*, *Rookwod*, *Carpenter*, or any other whom you please, & see, If they had *one unclean Spirit* in them when they were *Papists*, whether *seven Divels*, each worse than the first, enterd not afterwards into them. Nay consider the two last *Converts to Protestantisme*, to wit *Pere Anian* the French Capuchin, & *Macedo* a Portugal Priest (for instead of *English*, you must be contented with strangers) & they will still show us what kind of People they are, as also what rare motives they have, who now a dayes forsake us. For the first of these is so famous for his Prancks *at his commnig out of Babylon* (as he call's it) that there is no town between *Calis & Paris*, where a man may not have a full Relation of them. And as for the other he has bin so notorious over our whole Nation, by villanies of all sorts, that his very Name is proverbial; so that the *Transproser* to expresse his *Adversary's* superlative impudence, thought he could not do it more significantly, than by saying, a *Well fare poor Macedo for a modest fool.* Nor did his said Adversary (though

a Rehe. Trans. 1. pt. p. 187.

Enemys

Enemys are seldome of the same opinion) differ with him here; but reply's in his *Reproof*, [a] *Macedo! Thou art able to outforge, & outbrazen ten Macedos.* But who know's but these miserable men may yet find mercy in the End, & that that divine *Spirit*, which so often knock's at their hearts, will at last in spight of all resistance breake in. 'Tis he that quicken's the fear'd, that vivifies the dead, & that from *women*, frō *Patrons*, & from *wordly hopes* can bring a strey to his Fold. 'Tis he that could lately force a *Philips* to his Cel, a *Basil* to the severity of his Order, & others also, that drāck deep in the same *Cup of Abomination*; for by his holy inspirations, None we see, unlesse they apparently cast of all manner of Religion, dye in their Apostacy & Rebellion. Nor were it seem's the *Converts* of this new *Gospel* ever better; for from the very beginning of the Reformation, *Erasmus*, (whom *Protestants* will have to be theirs) declares that they thus demean'd themselves. „ [b] Bring me forth but one „(sayes this great Scholar) whom this „ *Gospel* has made sober in diet of a Ban- „quetter; gentle & meek of a fierce man: „ liberal of a Ravenous man; modest, of „ an unshamfac'd. But on the contrary, I „ *will shew you many, that by this Gospel are*

[a] *Repr. of the Reher. p.* 21.

[b] *Eras. in Spong. ad vos. Hattomum.*

„ *made worse than they were before.* It may „ be that it is an evil Luck, to fall upon „ the worse sort of them; but truly it „ never happen'd to me yet to know any „ one man, *that became not worse by this* „ *Gospelling.* And besides this, when I go „ at any time into their *Churches*, I see „ them come out from their *Sermons* as „ possess'd with a wicked Spirit, their „ Countenance shewing Anger & Fierce- „ ceneſſe, as ſouldiers comming from the „ warlike ſpeech of a Captain, exhorting „ them to fighting. *Who did ever ſee one* „ *man in their Sermons hitherto, either to shed* „ *teares, or knock his Breaſt &c.* Thus deſcants this *Author* on Revolters, with much more to the ſame purpoſe, as you may finde it at large in the [a] *Examen of Mr Fox's Calendar.* But why should any man wonder at this, ſeeing they then did, & do ſtill forſake their Religion for Liberty, following the Pattern of *Luther* their firſt Apoſtle & Maſter; *for he whilſt a Monck* (as [b] *Symon Vozen* a Proteſtant writes) *punisht his Body with Watching & Faſting*, & this alſo *Bp. Godwin* confirms, ſaying: [c] *That renouncing the world he betook himſelfe to a Cloyſter, where for his Deportment he was beyond exception.* But afterward he followed a far different courſe

[a] *Part. 3d. Decemb. Cap. 16 p. 315.*

[b] *Catol. of Doct. p. 180.*

[c] *Bp God H. 8. p. 49.*

course of Life; for [a] *Morgenstern* (one of his owne Religion) say's of Protestants, „ That when they would indulge their rapetite they were not asham'd to use these „ words; HODIE LUTHERANICE „ VIVEMUS, *We will live Lutherlike to* „ *day.* So much Reader then for my *Adversary's* 5th Advice, & now let us proceed.

[a] *Tract. de Eccl. p.* 221.

6ly. *He desir's us not to hinder the course of Iustice on Criminals because they are Papists* Here I cõfesse I understand not what he meanes; but if any *Papist* has sollicited for another of his Religion, who was to die, I thinke 'tis neither unlawfull nor unseemly; no men of any Religion being denied to use their endeavours to save their friends & Relations that fall casually into such misfortunes. But herein we shall obey his Advice; for (unlesse it be by some unhappy Duel) *Catholiques* come seldome within the reach of Capital Lawes.

7ly. *That Priests disguise not themselves like Hectors, nor poyson Clubs & Coffee Houses with Phanatick discourses & Atheisme, that by destroying all Religion, they may the sooner have their Will on the Protestant.* To this I answer, That if *Atheisme & Phanaticisme be the Discourse of a Priest*, my *Adversary* may chance to be one also; for never did *Stifler, Jacob Behmen*, or *Vanninus* writ

things that have a greater tendency to confusion, & disorder than himselfe. As for the *disguisement of Priests*, I thinke 'tis not their Fault; & if he will get them Liberty to wear their own Habit, we will give him very good security, that they shall never go more in Mascarade.

8ly. *That Priests & Jesuits fill not the world with* Pamphlets, Philanaxes, Exhortaions, Apologies, &c. *which serve only to ferment mens Passions, & not to convince their Reasons.* If we *come* (he sayes) *into the fair Field of Controversy we shall not be declined; & he thinks his Party not endebted to us upon that account.* Good Sir you very well know, that the *Philanaxes*, *Exhortations*, *Apologies &c*, were written by Laymen, & therfor you might well have spared this last Advice; and as for your Challenge *into the fair Field of Controversy*, 'tis apparent to the whole world, that we have been there more than Combatants, ever since the first breaking out of *Luther*. Nor can there be an Argument of more generous bravery than this, that though our *Priests* have bin hunted from hole to hole, their Papers often time seis'd on, some in the midst of their works hanged, no Library, no Presse, & it to day well setled, forc'd perchance next mor-

ning

ning to fly, yet for all these disadvantages (which no *Protestant* feels) they never omittted to write things of use, or to answer all sorts of Books, that durst appeare against us. Now for my selfe Sir, I promise you most faithfully (*en parole de Cavalier*) never to be in your Debt, nor in any man's else whilst I Live.

The END of the REPLY.



FURTHER

FURTHER *OBSERVATIONS* ON THE *Reasonable Defence.*

THough I have now fully reply'd to the *Answerer of the Apology*, & to whatever is material in the *Reasonable Defence* of the now twice confuted *Seasonable Discourse*, yet that nothing in the said *Defence* might be passed by, & to persue my *Adversary* (for the final satisfaction even of scrupulous Readers) Paragraphe after Paragraphe in his own order; I have thought fit to annex here these *Observations*, which by course will be short, having already fully answer'd to whatsoever can have any pretence of weight in it. But though my present Labour may therefore be deem'd not over pertinent, thus to busie my selfe about things of no real prejudice, if true, yet 'twil serve at least to the Impatient as a kind of large & more particular *Index*, to carrie them readily to what they desire, it being not easie in an *Alphabetical* one to bring every matter under common Heads.

My Adversary begins his *Reasonable Defence* with a Reproof, *because* in my *Answer of his Seasonable Discourse*, I blam'd him, for urging calumnies, [a] *that had bin already answer'd to a tittle*

[a] *Answ. to the Seas. Disc. p.* 2

in

in the Reply; Nor has he in his *Reasonable Defence* any other excuse for this unsincere procedure, but [a] *that all Mankin'd is not bound to read whatever I wrot*, & *that impertinencies are not to be adverted to in a Discourse pretended to be Seasonable*; *denying also his being concern'd in my Reply, which I shall finde answer'd elsewhere*. Thus you see *Reader* when things are fully & plainly answer'd, tis but saying, '*Twas never seen* which is the Effect of his Harangue, & all is well, yes though he has read it over fifty times. But I have by sending *Mr. Brome* half a dozen of these Reply's (as I mentiond in my *Epistle*) prevented this Trick for the Future; & how much *my Adversary* was concern'd in the former Editiõs, we may easily judge, since every body say's, that the *Anti-Apologist*, & *Seasonable Discourser* is the same Author.

[a] *Reas. Def. p. 1*

After this he twits me for deeming his Discourse unseasonable, & then tell's us to this purpose, [b] *That the King's Indulgence to Papists aggriev'd the Parliament, as well as some pulpit Rabshecas*; *so that I am bold in charging it only on the last, especially when I had written since the Session it selfe, & saw that the two Houses had gott'e it withdrawn*; *& that nevertheless the war (for all my pretences) was as vigorously prosecuted against forren Achitophels as before*; by all which the Reader may see, that his aime in writing this rare *Defence* was only to make a noise, & not seem Baffled; for what I said was, [c] *That the King having for many Reasons put out his Declaration, had thereby confounded the designes of forren Achitophels, & so united England, that there was not the least murmur in our streets, but what proceeded from a few Rabshekas & selfe interested Preachers*; Now whether this were

[b] *Reas. Def. p. 2*

[c] *Anſ. to the Sea. Diſ. p. 3.*

were true or no, I appeal to any Englishman that was then at Home. For though a yeare after the Parliament complain'd of this Indulgence, yet that contradict's not the seeming indifferency of the Layity in general, when it first came out; & I leave it to my Adversary himselfe (when he has once againe consider'd it) to tell me, whether *the War has bin since so vigorously prosecuted as before.* And whereas he is angry that I call him for his bydesigns *Dutchman*, saying in this his [a] *Defence, therewas aBook that endeavour'd to prove theHugonots of France no French men*: I answer, 'twas far from holding a *Paradox*, since by their villainous Actions (which he may finde in the 18th [b] *Reply*) they truly lost that title; & if he follow's their steps, I may then justly deem him no *Englishman*; nor will he (if he be thus *out law'd*) *suffer*, as he calls it, *in a good Cause, or in exceedingly good Company.*

[a] *Reas. Def.* p. 3

[b] p. 313

'Tis with this strange *Proem* that he triumph's at my *unfortunat Combat* (for so he term's it) *with the title of his Seasonable Discourse*; & [c] then he hasten's to make good the *excellency of his Church's Faith, & the Idolatry of ours*, a Dispute which I did, & do still desire to wave, as a thing not belonging to my Calling; & especially being about matter of Fact, I should unwillingly start two Hares at a time, as my Adversary, & all politique men Endeavour, that would shuffle & return as they came.

[c] *Reas. Def.* frō p. 3. to p. 5.

Now because I went off of this haunt as soon I could, yet not before I had said as much as the matter required, (as may be still seen in my [d] *Answer*) he call's it a *dexterous method of Dispatch*, & complain's that with the like haste

[d] *Ans.* to the Seaf. *Disc.* 1 *Head* p. 4.

haſte I have confuted his whole Section,
a *which proves* (he ſays) *from unqueſtionable Hiſtory, & down-right matter of Fact, the Writings of the beſt Popiſh Authors, Bulls of Popes, Canons of approved Councels, that Popery is deſtructive to the Intereſts of Kings & their Governments.* To this I reply in the firſt place, that I again appeal to my Reader, whether I did not in my ſaid b Anſwer fully confute every thing urged by the *Seaſonable Diſcourſe*, to that purpoſe. But if any Doubt ſhould ſtill remain, or any new one be now ſtarted by the *Defence*, let them conſult the c *Preface* of this Treatiſe, as alſo the 6th d *Reply*, & there they will finde *That Catholique Kings are more abſolute, than Proteſtants, & that we are not bound, by our Religion, Councels or Bulls, to depoſe Heretical Princes, as alſo that both in Theory & Practice there never were greater Rebels than the prime Doctors of the Reformation.*

a *Reaſ. Def. p. 5.*
b *Anſ. to the Seaſ. Diſ. p. 4*
c p. 8.
d p. 105.
e *Reaſ. Def. p. 5*

After this by a Trope, or Rhetorical Figure he ſhows e *Solon & Lycurgus* (whom I formerly mention'd, as I do againe in the preſent f *Preface*) *the Cruelty of Papiſts, & the dangers & miſchiefs that happend to Proteſtant Princes* by a florid Diſcription of the g *Maſſacre of France*, the h *Murther of Hen. 4th*, the *Perſecution of Qu. Eliz.* & the k *Powder-Treaſon*; all which common Topiques, are anſwerd I hope ſufficiently by this Reply, as the pages cited in the Margent (over againſt each reſpective Charge) direct.

f p. 8.
g *Rep.* 18 p. 313.
h *Rep.* 11 p. 189.
k *Rep.* 18. p. 329.
i *Rep.* 22 p. 348.
k *Rep.* 28 p. 398.

Fro hence he fall's a quarrelling with me for appealing to Experience, l *that one King of* Spain *ons King of* France & *proportionably all the reſt of the Papal Princes could rant in their Dominions like* the Grand Seigneur, *deeming the Reformed in comparíſon, but ſo many ſetter'd & precarious Vice-Roys*

l *Anſ. to the Seaſ. Diſ. p. 5.*

Roy. I say he fall's a quarrelling with me for this, & stoutly affirmes, a *That their ranting is little to the purpose as the long run if the Pope chance to be concernd, & this he proves by the Example of the ranting Emperour Charles* 5th, *& the sturdy Philip the* 4th *of France, who were* (he says) *forc'd at last to knock under the table & submit.* And what do you thinke was this *knocking* of *Charles* the 5th; why ('twas only as he tell's us) b *That having taken the Pope Prisoner, instead of ranting, he sadly complains to his Neigbors of the misfortune, ordering Masses to be said for his Delivery, & when all was done He was content to marry his Daughter to Alexander de Medicis his Holinesse's Nephew.* Was there (*Reader*) ever before such an Instance urg'd by an Adversary; for could any thing show more the grandure of a Monarch, than *Charles's* Actions in *Italy*, whilst the Dispute between the *Pope* & him lasted; & was it (I pray you) unbefitting a *Christian Emperour to call it a misfortune*, that his Officers were forced to *imprison not only the Patriarch of the West, as Protestants* stile him, but one also whom he deem'd *Vicar of Christ?* In the like manner, who ever thought it unbecomming his Majesty, *to order Prayers* for an Agreement? Nay when that happen'd, he oblig'd the *Pope* to his Conditions, & continued great & mighty during his whole Reigne, as all Historians testifie. And was it not a pretty *knocking of this Emperour under the Table*, because afterwards he married a Bastard-daughter to a *Duke of Florence*, a Family with which not only many *Princes* have since match'd, but even then the *Dauphin of France* thought fit to marry; & truly one might have expected a lesse slighting it, seing our own *King* is descen-

a *Reas. Def. p.* 6

b *Reas. Def. p.* 7

cended from it. But my Adversary's pleasantest Capricio is; a *That Charles would never have bin able to have master'd the Pope, had it not bin for his honest* (as he call's it) *German Army, consisting almost wholly of Protestants*; whenas that Army was so far from being *almost* that it was not halfe *Protestant*; for *Alphonso Vilos*, (who writes the *Emperour's* life at large, & an *Italian* also) tell's us, b *That Bourbon, had* 46 *thousand men in all, whereof* 6. *were Spaniards*, 14 *Italien*, & 20 *Germans*; among whom no man can doubt but many were also Catholiques. In the next place, my *Adversary* well knows that *Papists* can vindicate their Princes without such helpe, when they thinke them injur'd; For even my c *Ld Herbert* shows us to this effect; *That Don Hugo de Moncada with his Spaniards (in lesse than a yeare before) took Rome, & having sackt part of it, forced the Pope to conditions*. And have we not also since seen (besides the conteſt of several *Italian Princes*) that this very *King of France, mastered Alexander the* 7th without ever *knocking under the table*, or being oblig'd to his *honest Protestant Army*; nor can I refrain smiling to hear the Epithet of *Honest* given by my *Adversary* to those *Lutherans*, who not only committed such horrid abominations & cruelty's in *Rome* as all Writers affirme, but they & their succeſſors in Faith contêne so infinitely his Doctrine & beliefe, that they will not daigne to communicate with him or his Party, nor to allow them a better Title than *Sacramentarians*.

a *Reas. Def. p.* 3.

b *Vita del Car.* 5. *l.* 110

c *Hen.* 8. *Anno* 1526.

But who could have imagin'd that he would have mention'd *Philip* 4th *of France*, as one, *that was forced to submit to the Pope*; whenas, being excommunicated, he not only took *Bonif.* 8th Pri-

Prisoner, but carried him to *Rome* where he died; & then summoning the *Cardinals*, caus'd *Benedict* the 11th to succeed him, who presently took off the Interdict, & after his death he made a *French man Pope*, to wit *Clem.* 5th, who removed his very seat into *Faance*, which there continued for 70 & odde yeares; so that the *Protestant de Serres* makes this marginal Note, [a] *That after the chastisement of Boniface, the Popes became Frenchmen.* Is not this then another rare *knocking* Example? Yes! & my *Adversary* had no way left to make it good, but by proceding with the strangest piece of Confidence that ever was heard of. For he sayes, [b] *Boniface being dead, the King was forced to make fair with his Successors, & to honour Clem.* 5th, *he led his Mule, for which he payed dear, being hurt with his Brother by the fall of a wal, though they escap'd better than the Duke of Britainy, who was kill'd. But after many troubles, & being rid by the Pope's Legate (who drew him to a dishonorable Peace with the Flemins) he perishe by an untimely death, being the last of his Family, & seing his* 3 *daughters convicted of Adultery.* Now who would not have thought by this sad story, that the Pope to be reveng'd, had caus'd all this Ravage, & yet it has no more Relation to his Holinesse, than to the *Mufty*; For you may finde it at large to this purpose in the said [c] *de Serres* „ That the *King* having had his „ ends over *Boniface*, & now made his Subject „ *Clem.* 5th, *Pope*; he would needs have him „ crown'd at *Lyons*, where in the height of the „ Solemnity, the Scaffold & an old Wall fell, „ which hurt a little his *Majesty* & his *Brother*, „ & kill'd the for-mention'd *Duke*. As for the *the Peace with the Flemmins*, what was that to the

[a] *De Ser. Phil.* 4. *p.* 155.

[b] *Reas. Def. p.* 8

[c] *De Ser. Phil.* 4. *p.* 155.

the *Pope*? Nay our *Protestant Author* mentions not so much as the least Mediation of any *Legat*, but makes (& 'twas so in truth) *the* [a] *Kings wants the cause of it; as also the negligence or Treason of Marigny the Treasurer.* Now for this Princes being the last of his Family, 'tis absolutely false; for he left 3 sons, *Lewis, Charles, & Philip*, who were all of them also Kings; & if their wives were incōtinent, how do's that more concerne the *See of Rome*, then do's the viciousnesse of any other women? Nay after all this the King dy'd at Fontain-bleau in the 58th yeare of his Age, & eight & twentith of his Reigne, as our said [b] Protestant *Historian* has it. Let the world then judge by this abominable falsification & aggrevation, how we are dealt with; & to make all this go down more glibly, my [c] *Adversary* run's with a full cry *on the Murther of Hen. the 3d, & Sixt: V. his Panegyrick on Frier Clement*, which I have answerd before in the [d] 11, & [e] 19. Replys.

[a] *De Serres ib. p.* 156.

[b] *De Serres ib.*

[c] *Reasons Def. p.* 8

[d] *p.* 18

But suppose now these stories, which are so false, had bin true, where's the Error of my Assertion, to wit, *That the Kings of France, & Spain, & the rest of the Catholique Princes are more absolute & powerfull in their Dominions, than the Protestant.* Nor have I taken all this paines in confuting these Examples, to prove what I affirme (for that I leave to any man to judge) but I did it to show the constant artifice of our Enemies, who when they cannot answer a thing, run presently to an odoius storie, though in strictnesse altogether wrong; for this being magisterially set down, & larded with some common & vulgar Error, will raise a prejudice (they hope) in their Readers,

[e] *p.* 335

or

or at least confound & distract them.

From hence my *Adversary* come's to talke of *Hen.8th*, [a] *who was not* (he say's) *more considerable before, than after his Revolt from Rome*, which I have shown at large in the 24 [b] *Reply* to be another of his usuall mistakes, as I have also done in the c 11th, what he in his *Defence* next deny's; viz d *That Protestant Authors acknowledge all our Protestant Monarchs to have come to violent Deaths*; & if this be well prov'd, I suppose, it follow's, as I said, *That now the Persons of our Monarchs are not safer than under Popery.*

[a] *Reas. Def. p. 9*
[b] *p. 379.*
[c] *p. 185*
[d] *Reas. Def. p. 10.*

After this he *Quarrell's with my* [e] *Logick & the Consequences I make*; to which I defer my Answer till the end of these *Observations*; for there I show my *Reader* among other things his Artifice of perverting what I say. Then he call's me to account [f] for saying *That the ill actions of Popes can not make our Religion false, & that their Infallibility is no part of our Faith*; nor is it a small trouble to him, that I will not grant it a Tenet of our Religion, *That Popes may depose Kings*; for he say's, *several of our great Authors acknowledge it a Papal Prerogative.* Then he denyes *that the Primate of Armagh (& all the Bishops but one that were consulted with) advis'd Charles the I. to passe Stafford's Bill*; the Answers of all which, together with the *Condemnation of Sanderelius*, & *Mariana's Books*, as also all his Arguments from *Councels, Popes, Bull's, Writings of Divines for the deposings of Kings*, are to be found in the 6th [g] *Reply*; where one may also see, *Whether the Protestant or Popish Subjects have depos'd most Princes*, & what loyal Doctrine they hold.

[e] *Reas. Def. p. 11*
[f] *Reas. Def. frō p. 12. to p. 17.*
[g] *p. 105*

My *Adversary* having thus nimbly in 17. Pages of his *Defence* reply'd to the two first Heads

Heads of my *Answer to his Seasonable Discourse*, comes now to the Third, which was to answer 6 *political Inconveniences, which Popery would (as he thought) necessarily bring in among us.* As first *The ruine of Lawyers, because our Common or municipal Law must then truckle under the Canon Law, Bulls, Legantine Commissions &c.* To which I answerd, „ [a] That though he had layne so „ notable a baite to whedle the *Lawyers*, yet „ I wanted not as wise arguments also to in- „ cline them to our party, & to show them, „ that the *Law* (instead of being depres't) must „ be neeks better'd by *Popery*, which so „ fully agrees with their own Maximes & „ Practice. For they held (I said) *That the „ King could do no wrong*, which in other termes „ is to be unerrable, *That oral Tradition is equal „ with the written Law; That an unknown tongue „ is fit & laudable; That Clients must pay blinde Obe- „ dience*, & the like. Nay I further showd, that when my *Adversary* once came to instances & particulars, they were alwayes against him; [b] *For a PREMVNIRE* (I say'd) *was of such force in time of Popery here, that it thastis'd not only a* Legate, *but a prime Minister of State, even* Wolsey *himselfe, who had so wonderfull an Interest in the Nation*: Whereupon in the *Defence* he thus replies, after his witty manner, [c] *Because* (say's he) *our Law hold's the King cannot dye, therfor never any Papist murderd a King, nor ought to be punisht for attempting what was impossible*: & pray *Reader* let me first aske you, if what I say'd be not rarely & ingenuously stated, & whether any man, even an *irrefragable Hales* may not be soon confuted at this rate. But after this jest was over, he tell's us with

[a] *Ans. to the Seas. Dis. p.* 10 & 11.

[b] *Ib.*

[c] *Reas. Def. p.* 18.

a *Ib.* more Gravity, a *That every School-boy knows, that formerly most of the Judicatories of England were in the hands of Priests & Canonists*; but this (though I am no *School-Boy*) I deny, except he means the *Offices* that attend those *Courts*; & if so, he himselfe know's, (without need of going to *Eaton* or *Westminster*) that they are now in the hands of *Courtiers* & other *Gentlemen*, who pretend no more to the *Law*, than the Man in the Moon. And as for his telling us b *that he can reckon* 20 *Families raised to the Peerage by the law, since Hen.* 8th; he must pardon me if I say, he is deceiv'd, & will find himselfe short in his account. But the prettiest foyle he gives me, is his last, when he say's, were it true, as „ I affirme that the *Frech, Spanish & Italia* Lawyers „ are as great as ours, my Argument must „ then run thus; *Because the Civil & Canon „ Lawyers are great in Popish Countries*, Ergo *The „ Common Lawyers of England will be so too.* But he „ is sure the *English Gentlemen of the long Robe* will „ not be so foolish as to leave their Interest „ & Duty upon such lamentable Pretences. 'Tis well he grants that *Lawyers* are as great abroad as with us, for our *English Travellers* would smile at him otherwise; nay those that have seen the splendor of the *Presidents & Councellors of the French Parliaments & Courts of Judicature* (which are all *Gens de Robe*) can tell him how far they exceed us. But was there ever such an evasion as to talke of the *Civil Law* when as where tis solely us'd 'tis the *Common* or *municipal Law* of the Place, nor has it in it selfe any more relation to *Popery*, than to *Protestatisme*, & were the whole world Heathen, it would still be the same. But I insist too much I cõfesse

b *Feast. Def. p.* 39.

upon

upon these Fopperies, seing I am so streightned in time, & that the Disputе it selfe is so frivolous.

a Reas. Def. fit p. 19. 20.

From hence my *Adversary* goes to make a good *the danger of the Proprietors of Abbey Lands, if Popery should come in*, which I have at large answer'd in the b 11th *Reply*.

p. 27.

b p. 204

After this he c descēd's to his third Doctrine, *That trade & the value of lands will decay by* Popery, which *must bring in Abby-Lubbers, many holy-dayes, Eating much fish, as also a want of People by the single life of Priests*. I thought *Reader* I had heretofore sufficiently answer'd these poor Objections, which the condition & grandure of Catholique Countreys at first sight confute. My best way then doubtlesse is *to knock under the table*, having no inclination to be merry, though I want not (I am sure) a large & ample field to sport in; nor is it ignoble to do so, since two such great Monarchs as *Ch.* 5th, & *Phil.* 4th were we *see forc't to knock also*. But by the way do's not my *Adversary* still give his own Fellow-Clergy-men a *knock*? For where as I told him to this purpose, & I thinke 'twas *Argumentum ad hominem*, for I neither had, nor have now time to write in defence of *Religious Houses*; I say whereas I told him, d *That if the lazinesse & uselesnesse of Moncks were a good Objection against Abbyes &c. then it might touch his own Copyhold, & reach Deaneries, Prebends, & all perpetual fellowships; for they were deemed by sober men the harbours of lazie & useless people.* To this he now answers. „ e *That I play at crosse* „ *purposes*; for none can deny that if all „ the hands of the nation were employ'd „ in worke, the more would be done; but

c Reas. Def. p. 27. Of the Laziesse & uselesse-nesse of Monks &c.

d Reas. Def. p. 27.

„ continues he, if for good reasons some of
„ it be set a part for *Divines &c*, dos it follow
„ that it is good to have a Refuge for all *lazy*
„ *People*, without being usefull necessarily to
„ the Publique? So that by this Divinity every body has a Liberty granted to call who *they please lazy & useless people*; Nay if a *Henry the* 9th do chance but to terme thus *Deaneries, Prebends* &c, then tis Justice to take them away, & every body must acknowlege *that they are a real hinderance to Trade, & the improvement of land.* Besides, let the Reader judge, if what I said, *were playing at crosse purposes*; & how *Protestants* expresse our first *Reformer's* Piety, which destroy'd *Religious Houses*, as may be seen in the 9th *Reply.*

ap. 176.

Of the Marriage of the Clergy.

As for the single life, which Popery will oblige the Clergy to, if that trouble my *Adversary*, as it did *Luther* & many more of the *Saints*, let him marrie in good time, & supply the want of People in the Nation that way, which is his presēt pretence. But (for all He know's it already) I must tell him that though this was a rare Argument in the beginning of the *Reformation*, yet now Protestants are of another Opinion; nor is there one in ten of them, that I know (& I know a great many worthy men) but would rather vote the making them Eunuchs, than their marrying. For no man is now ignorant (as I said) of the inconveniences it brings the Nation; for though there have bin gallant men thus borne, yet (*politically* speaking) they now find there is little to be expected from a Race, that are bred high, & then left Beggars by their Parents; which is the cause of that common *Protestant Proverb or Maxim*

which

which he againe mentions; *That nothing furnishes more the Gallows & Bawdy Houses than Parsons Children.* Nor are *Popish Countries* lesse populous then the *Reformed*; *& if Holland be so a Stockt*, as he urges, one swallow makes no summer; Besides the store of People there, proceeds not from their *Religion* but Commerce; For *Flanders* proportionably to its Traffique, has as many, if not more; & Traffique & Commerce is a very mutable & fleeting thing; for we see that formerly *France* had little, & now it has much; & on the contrary, *Venice* has not the tenth part of what it had formerly. But why dos he blame me for mentioning the low birth of the *English Clergy* in general, whenas I only cited *Dr Chamberlayn's presente State of England*, who says, b *That they are accounted by many as the Drosse & Refuse of the Nation; & Men thinke it a shame to place their sons in that Function, & Women are asham'd to marry with any of them.* This *Author* my *Adversary* was so candid as to passe by in his sayd *Defence*, as he has often done the stresse of my Arguments in other places, making alwayes a noise like a lapwing, where he think's the Danger lesse imminent. But since he will have his *Clergy* to be better than the *Romish*, he shall have his humour for me, though some will say *There are more, & greater men of Quality among the few Popish Priests of England alone, than among all the Protestant Clergy of the three Kingdoms.* And as for my own part I am so far frō undervaluing a *Clergy-mā* for his *low Birth*, that I really esteem him as much as if he were a Noble man; nor should I have ever medled with this Dispute about their *Marriage*, had not my *Adversary*

a *Reas. Def. p.* 30.

b *p.* 270

ſtarted, & us'd it as a Blow againſt our *Religion*, & as a *motive* (you ſee) to have us perſecuted.

Of the grievãce by the multitude of Popiſh Holy days.

As for the grievance of *Popish Holy-dayes*, which he ſay's, *will leſſen the worke, & conſequently impoverish the Nation*, I will repeat thus much what I anſwer'd before, [a] *That this way of arguing ſtrengthen's their Doctrine that would have all Eccleſiaſtical dayes of reſt taken away; & beſides that, we have but four more of obligation than the Church of England*; but ſeing this would not ſerve his turne, I have made now an exacter *Calculation*, & finde I was out, *there being* (it ſeem's) *as many Proteſtant Holy-dayes in the Kingdome as Popish*, according to my *Adverſary's* own account; for whereas he ſays that we retain, [b] firſt, *Holy-rood-day*, 2 *The Aſſumtion of our Lady*, 3 *Her Birth*, 4 *St Ioſeph*. 5 *St Lawrence*, 6 *St George*, & 7 *St Silveſter*, I anſwer that *St Silveſter's* day is in *Chriſtmas*, & ſo break's no ſquare; & in lieu of the reſt, theſe following *fixt Feaſts & ſolemn dayes* (as *Sr Sam. Morland* call's them in his *perpetual Almanack*) are obſerved & commanded in the *Church of England*; to wit, firſt *The Converſion of St Paul*. 2 *The Martyrdom of Charles the firſt*, 3 *St Mark*, 4 *The Birth & Returne of Charles the 2d*, 5 *St Luke*, & 6 *The 5th of November*. But why do I trouble you Reader or my ſelfe with ſo impertinent a matter, & beneficial to no body but the Printer.

[a] *Anſ. to the Seaſ. Diſ. p. 15.*

[b] *Reaſ. Def. p. 32*

Of Popiſh fiſh dayes.

Now for the *loſſe* that will happen (he ſays) by *Popish Fish-dayes to the Graſier, & ſo make lands fall*; who could have imagind that he would alſo have again mentiond this a Motive againſt Popery, & [b] deem'd *Abſtinence from Flesh a detriment to the Kingdom?* whenas it has bin ſo ſtrictly enjoyn'd by *Parliament* even

[b] *Reaſ. Def. p. 30.*

ſince

since the *Reformation*, & term'd by the very Act, a [a] *Politique Law for the increase of Fishermen & Mariners, as also repairing Port Towns, Navigation &c.* Nay, which is more, *The Church of England commands more Fish-dayes than we*; for *Wednesday* (as appears by the foresaid *Statute*) *is of Obligation with Protestants*, so that if my *Adversary's Observation* be true & fitting, we ought then to bring in *Popery*, *for the helpe of the Grasier, & to hinder our Lands from falling*; but of this a little more towards the end, & especially of my *Error in Logick*, & *unfortunate way of Arguing* as he calls it.

[a] *Vid Act 5 to Eliz.*

Next, he comes to his 4th *Politique Motive against Popery*, viz. [b] *That it must needs be a vast expence to private persons in Masses, Dirges &c*; To which I formerly answerd, [c] *That one of Mr Pryns great Arguments against Plays, was their expencefulnesse; but as Magna Charta* (which makes every man Master of his own) was a *Choak-pear to that Gentleman, so I hop'd that it might have had some weight with my Adversary also.* This (I say) I answerd, nor truly did I then doubt, but that he, & every body else would suppose, that I meant, that this Power in *English* men over their *Estates* was legal, *if it prejudic'd not the Publique*; For I concluded my Argument, saying, *That the Papists of England & elsewhere had as much money in their Purses, as their Neighbors of the same ranck & quality.* But our *Defendent* very willingly mistakes the obvious & common sence of my words, & falls a proving, *That our Countreymen have not power to do what they will with their own*; & then thinking that I had discovered a mighty secret, He would conclude from my words, *that Papists are extremely well us'd, since I could thus vaunt for sooth*

Of the expence Popery bring's the Subject.

[b] *Reas. Def. p. 33.*

[c] *Ans. to the Seas. Disc. p. 16.*

of

of their Riches; whenas he ought rather to have lamented, That the *Protestant Gentry* are so poor; for a *Papist*, (without being a *Sutton* or an *Audley*) may be as rich (generally speaking) as his Neighbor, as the world goes now a dayes. But if I have bin open hearted with him, he has bin as free & generous with me, for he plainly tell's me how we come to be so rich, a thing I'l be sworne I never knew before; & this happens he sayes, *by making our* a *Priests our Baylifs & Caterers, & paying them off* a *Reas. Def. p. 34.* *by a pittifull Salary rais'd out of Symony; but this must* (he assures us) *be chang'd, if his Holinesse again gets into the saddle*; so that (I see) he will force us for our own Interest to set a guard against the comming in of Popery.

From hence he falls upon his 5th *Motive* viz; b *Ib. p. 35.* b *The Detriment the Nation will suffer by Confession*; & values not a penny my Answer, c That *many great Doctors of his own Church have bin for it*; c *Ans. to the Seas. Dis. p. 17* Nay whereas I urged that common & plane place of *Scripture*, *Confesse your sins one to another*; He reply's to my amazement, That *some say these words enjoyn as much the Priests to confesse to the People, as the People to the Priests*; by which we see that this great *Pillar of the Church* can approve of any phanatical Argument, when he thinks it serves his purpose. For my part, I intend not to dispute the case, only shall at present desire him to turne to what I have already said *even of the temporal Emolument of this* d *p. 418* *Sacrament in the* 28th d *Reply*, & if he likes it, tis very well; if not, I am his *humble servant*. And as for *Hind's Confessor, that gave in evidence against him at the Bar, & so hang'd him*, let his name be *More*, or what else he pleases, He was a

Minister

Minister, which was all that I said; in my [a] *Answer*; nor am I to reckon (since I know nothing further of him) *that he was a Preacher to the Rebels*, seing *Hind* a noted *Cavalier*, trusted him with his *felonious* sins. But to conclude; when Confession is as much abus'd & profan'd as the Scripture has bin, by Ignorant mens reading it, let it be (if my *Adversary* pleases) forbidden; & therefore this [b] *Parallel*, which He thought so pertinent & home is me think's very ordinary & to little purpose.

Next to this he has a fling at the old Stories [c] *about Rates for sins*, which he calls *Taxa Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*, & candidly quotes for it, *Claudius Espencæus's Comment on Titus* though a censurd Book, as may be seen in [d] *Possivinus*, To this charge I shall say as I did before, *That it was a mulct lay'd on several Crimes & Transgressions in former ages, as in England twelve pence a time was the penalty for swearing.* Now if there has bin any abuse in that *Apostolique Taxation* or Penalty (which also *Reader*, you must know; has bin long agoe suspended) they must smart for it, that caus'd it: Nor is any man ignorāt of abuses here at home when men payd for *Oaths*; some thinking it a bravery *to break & contemne Lawes*, as they call'd it; *whilst others (fancying it witty & humorsome) have sworne out a piece of money, because the Officers had no change at hand*; & therfor let my *Adversary* consider, whether 'twere just in a *Papist* to exclame against the *Protestant Religion* for this, & the like *Law*, because some Absurdities have happen'd. And certainly I had reason to laugh at his nicking himself in his *Seasonable Discourse*, when

[a] *Ans. to the Seas. Dis. p.* 18.

[b] *Reas. Def. p.* 36.

[c] *Ibid p.* 37.

[d] *Poss. App. Sac p.* 358.

[e] *Ans. to the Seas. Dis. p.* 17.

when he cited *Cornelius Agrippa*, *about the Incontinency of Priests*, since (as I say'd) that *Author* in that very *Chapter* mentions [a] *Luther's strange Principles of whoring*, which show what a man of God he was.

[a] *Cor. Agr. de Lenocin.*

After this my Adversary bring's in again his last Observation or Motive against Popery, to wit, [b] *Self-preservation*, & so falls a fresh on the *Racks*, *Faggots*, *Massacres*, *Gibets &c. With which we defend* (he says) *our Cause*; & no wonder if here our Actions in [c] *Piedmont*, [d] *Ireland*, & *the lenity of Q. Elizabeth* come in; which I hope nevertheless (for his full satisfaction) the *Reply* handles & confutes here in the places which the Margent shows.

[b] *Reas. Def. p. 39.*
[c] *Rep. 11 p. 190.*
[d] *Rep. 1. p. 51.*
[e] *Rep. 22 p. 348.*

Our next & [f] last journey *Reader*, is about a false citation out of *Del Rio*, which I have taxt him with in my [g] *Answer* to his *Seasonable Discourse*, & which he would fain here defend. To the end then you may see into what a lamentable absurdity he has plung'd himself, & to make all things as clear as the sun, I'l begin with the Controversy from its Original.

[f] *Reas. Def. p. 41.*
[g] *Ans. to the Seas. Dis. p. 20.*

Be pleased then to know, That my Adversary in his *Seasonable Discourse* say's after this manner; [h] *That in spight of all our palliations, the Powder-treason was* (*as Del Rio the Iesuit informs us*) *by the privity & direction of the Pope himself*, „that the said Author add's withall that *Clement* the 8th (a little before that time) orderd „by his *Bull*, *That no Priest should discover any „thing known in Confession to the benefit of the Secular* Government, so that from hence he „inferr's, [i] that it seems safer to these good „men to break all the obligations of Duty

Seas. Dis. p. 34.
[i] *Ibid.*

Duty & Allegiance, though bound by Oaths, than violat the Seale of Confession, or put a stop to that meritorious worke of destroying in one moment their Soveraigne, with his Family & Senat. In my *Answer* therfor to this Story, I sayd' „ That „ twas a matchlesse Impudēce to affirme that „ *Del Rio acknowleg'd this of the Pope*, whenas „ he *publisht his Book* (which upon this accu- „ sation I was curious to perus(e) in *Febr.* 1598 „ (*for then the licence for printing it beares date*) *which* „ *was 7 yeares before that treasonable Machination*; „ nor is there a word there of *England* in the „ place. And whereas he affirme's that *Cle-* „ *ment* the 8th gave order, *That no Priest should* „ *discover any thing that came to his knowlege by* „ *Confession, for the benefit of the SECVLAR Govern-* „ *ment*, 'tis absolutly false; for his *Holines's* „ Precept was only to the *Superiors of the Regu-* „ *lars or Religious men*, (as the said [b] *Author* ex- „ presly tell's us, (*That they should diligently* „ *beware of making use of any thing known by Con-* „ *fession to advantage their own EXTERIOR Go-* „ *vernment*; That is to say, if by *Confession* a Su- „ perior came to know the natural imperfec- „ tion of a Subject, as his *Lying*, *Idlenesse*, *Pro-* „ *digality &c.* he should not therfor put him out „ of *Office*, or prejudice him any other way; „ for I added, that the *Pope* would have *Con-* „ *fessors* (as the said *Casuist* declares) behave „ themselves so, as if they had not heard „ *Confessions*; & the reason of this command „ was, least those *Penitents* should be shie of „ confessing their faults to their *Governours*, & „ consequently be depriv'd of wholsome *Ad-* „ *vice & Counsel*, which is one of the main ends

[a] *Ans. to the Seas. Dis. p. 10.*

[b] *Del Rio Desq. Mag. l. 6 c. 1. p. 912.*

„ ends of that so profitable & holy *Sacrament*.
This *Reader* was my reprehension; & had not
I, & every *Catholique*, nay all honest men (of
what *Religion* soever) cause to complain of
this great Elusion, & want of Integrity in
my *Adversary*, who it seem's being sensible of
it, makes this Reply at the latter end of his
Reasonable Defence.

a *Reas. Def. p.* 41. „ „ a He ask's in what consists the impudence
„ lay'd at his dore; It cannot be (he thinks)
„ for saying, *that the Powder-Treason was with*
„ *the Privity & direction of the Pope*; for that was
„ long agoe asserted by *Bp Andrewes* against
„ *Bellarmin*, to wit, that three *Brieves* were to
„ be here publisht as soon as the Blow should
„ be given. Nor can the impudence be for af-
„ firming that *Del Rio* inform's him of the *Popes*
„ *Privity*; for (he say's) *If this Iesuit knew this*
„ *Plot before hand, 'tis more than probable that the*
„ *Pope might be trusted with it*; & whether *Del*
„ *Rio* knew it let his own words determin
b *Desq. Mag. l. 6 t. 1. p.* 911. „ who positively asserts, b *That if a man dis-*
„ *covers in Confession that he has plac'd Gunpowder*
„ *by which, unless it be removed, the Prince & all that*
„ *are in the City will be destroy'd, the Priest ought not*
„ *to reveal it*. He cõfesse's it true nevertheless,
„ *that England is not mention'd in the case*, but I
„ can give the reason of it; & he is sure there
„ are all the other circumstances exactly to
„ ground more than a loose possibility; or if
„ the matter stick here, he can bring subsi-
„ diary proofs that other *Priests* in foren parts
„ did know of the Designe. But thirdly if the
„ impudence lyes in quoting *Del Rio, who wrot,*
„ *as I say (that have bin so curious as to peruse his book)*
„ *7 yeares before that treasonable machination was*

„ *to be put in Execution*, He answer's, 'Tis no
„ newes that *Romanists* lay Plots as deep as this;
„ nor could the Feares that attended it, &
„ the Session of *Parliament* morally speaking
„ have a readier Execution. But now sup-
„ pose the time of publishing this Book be
„ false *notwithstanding my very curious perusal*,
„ will I have the face, he ask's, to take myselfe
„ *for a Man of honour, or expect to be believ'd in*
„ *any thing I write or speake*. But (continues
„ he) the truth of the story is, *That the first Edi-*
„ *tion of the two first Books came out in the end of*
„ *the yeares 1599 viz* the 7th *of the Ides of March*,
„ as *Del Rio* tells the *Bp of Colen* in the Epistle;
„ *& that he put out these two Book's of the six he had*
„ *written, as a kind of taste of the Succeeding Feast*;
„ & this he did, *the approching Mart, other delays*
„ *having hinder'd the publishing more*. Then he
„ fall's upon my Negligence, saying, This a
„ man of any tolerable sagacity might have
„ found in the very page I cite; for the Lo-
„ vain Censor's Approbation of the said two
„ first Books, beares date *Febr.* 8. 1599. Now
„ for the 4 *last Books* (in which, *the afore mention'd*
„ *citation about the Powder-Plot is plac't*) they came
„ out on the 4th of the Calends of March
„ 1600 as appeares by the Editions of *Gerard*
„ *Novius*, & the aforsaid Epistle; so that rec-
„ koning from the end of the yeare 600 to
„ March 603 (at which time the *Traytors* had
„ actually confederated) he desires to know,
„ *if that makes 7 yeares*. But (he sayes) he matters
„ not whether the *Pope* knew it three yeares,
„ or three moneths before, so he knew it,
„ & that my Cause will be never the better,
„ though these probabilities offer'd out of

Del

„ *Del Rio* should not ſatisfie an *obſtinat man*, „ whilſt there be other evidences to prove „ the *Popes privity* to it; And by the way, *Reader*, obſerve how diffident my worthy *Adverſary* begins to be of his informatiõ out of this *Ieſuit* about his Holineſſe's Intrigue, when he would faine at laſt (after ſo much clutter) ſhuffle it off & refer us to other Evidences.

Having thus given you a large account of what he ſayes & of what he accuſes me, I muſt now upon force be more prolix than I intended; for I will show you as ſtrange a piece of Confidence or Ignorance, or both, as ever was found in any Author; & which is the pleaſure of it, we are now engagd in matter of Fact, ſo that there can be no tricks or evaſions, for either he or I muſt preſently fall; Nay becauſe I will not embarrras & confound you with Authors & Editions, I'l have recourſe to nothing but his own words here before you, which make a Charge you ſee conſiſting of two parts; firſt *that Del Rio informs us of the Popes being privy to this Plot*, & 2ly *That I am a falſifier in plaine matter of Fact & ought not hereafter to take my ſelfe for a man of honour, ſince I durſt affirme that Del Rio publiſht his Treatiſe in Feb.* 1598, *whenas he printed the firſt two Books of it but on the* 7 *of the Ides of March*, 599, & the other ſix (*in which the preſent diſpute is plac't*) on the 5th of the Calends of March 1600.

The Inditement I confeſſe is home & preſſing, but now ſuppoſe an *obſtinat Man* should humbly ask how *Del Rio* inform's us, *that the Pope was privy to the Plot*; why he anſwer's *Del Rio knew it himſelfe*, Ergo *'tis more than probable that the Pope had the ſecret imparted to him*. Excellẽt

good

good in troth! so that *more than probably* to know a thing, & *positively* to know it (for in the *Seasonable Discourse* there were neither *Ifs* nor *Ands*) is, it seems, the same thing by my *Adversary's* Logick; nay the whole stresse of the businesse consists in this, *that whatsoever a Iesuit knows, the Pope presently knows also.* But the *obstinat man* will perchance yet ask, how it is certain that *Del Rio* knew it himselfe, *why his own words forsooth plainly show it*; for having written in a Book (where he treat's of *the Seal of Confession*, & which was printed as my Adversary grants in the year 1600) „ That if a man lays a train „ to blow up a *Prince*, & destroy or endanger „ the whole City, the *Priest* nevertheless „ must be secret; *Ergo He knew of the English Powder plot Which was not agreed upon till the year* 1603. So that by this new way of arguing; (besides the forementioned Contradiction) if any *Iesuit* or other *Casuist* chances in his Illustrations & Examples to light upon a Case, that comes near to what is afterwards acted, *he must needs have had notice of the Designe*, nay the *Designe too must be by the Privity & Direction of the Pope.* But who could expect better Stuff in the Close, when we see his very first On-set is, that because *Bp Andrewes* saye's „ That „ there were three *Breves* ready beyond Sea to „ be here publisht when the *blow* should be „ given, *Ergo I cannot in reason tax him of unworthinesse for affirming that Del Rio informs us that the Plot was by the Popes privity & direction.* Yet since *Bp Andrewes is cited*, I would fain know how that makes the Pope guilty; for he proves nothing, but only magisterially say's this about the *Breves*, & if we must take every

man's

man's word that accuſes us or the Pope, what excellent newes will it be to the *Sieur du Moulin*; for then he can plainly demonſtrat, *that the Kings death was alſo with his Holineſſ's privity & Direction*. But had *Bp Andrewes* offer'd at Proofs, & were it my buſineſſe now to anſwer him, it is but deſiring you to turne to the 28 *Reply*, where the whole buſineſſe of this *Plot* is handled, & there you may finde, a *that no body was privy to it, but theſe few there mention'd*; Nay *Winter* himſelfe, who in his printed *Confeſſion* deſcends to all particulars, ſhow's us, b *That no man was made acquainted with it beyond ſea but Owen, who would not let ſo much as their great friend Stanly be informd of it*; & for certain had any of the ſayd Traytors, confeſs't in the leaſt the Popes knowlege & conſent, we ſhould have heard of it over & over againe. But I have bin too long with this his Proof of *Del Rio's conſciouſneſſe of the Plot*, which is not only ſo pittifull in it ſelfe, *but makes* (like the *Sieur du Moulin's* informations) *Prieſts & Ieſuits the veriеſt Drivelers & Aſſes that ever were heard of*; for they can be no ſooner Privado's, or Actors in a plot, but they either blurt it out to the firſt *Pumper* they meet, & proclame it to *Strangers on the Road*, or elſe publish it in print 7 yeares before it is to take effect. Now concerning *Del Rio's Bookes*, & whether he publisht them thus long before, ſhall be the next queſtion, & if what my *Adverſary* has already urg'd in Relation to the *Pope* be (as I ſaid) pittifull, Iam ſure this laſt charge will ſeem intolerable, even to the moſt partial Reader.

cp. 398

bK. Iame's Workes p. 227.

My Adverſary ſay's (you know) *that* Del Rio's *Two firſt Books came not out 'till the end of the yeare*

1599.

1599, so with the 7th of the Ides of March, & the other Four, on the 5th of the Calends of March 1600; whereas I affirme that his whole Treatise was publisht in Feb. 1598, for thus I say the Licence for printing it beares date; so that I am no man of honour in having the face to falsifie two yeares about that part, in which the Author treats of the Powder-Plot; nay I am out a whole yeare in the first; & this I might (he tell's me) with the least sagacity have found in the very page I cite; for there the Louain Censor, on the 8th of Feb. 1599 approves the said two first Books.

'Tis great pity I confesse my Adversary had not lived in Gregory the 13th's Pontificate, for doubtlesse he would have had great employment by reason of his sagacity, & wonderfull skill in the Computation of time; but becaufe he shall not call me (as he has done) a Buffoon & say, that in any Exigence I fairly laugh it out, I'l now play the Mathematician, since I am to deal with one, & lay down a few Postulats, the better to solve this mighty difficulty. First I hope he'l grant that there are 7 yeares between 1598 & 1605; for then happend the fatal 5th of November, or Execution-day of that treasonable Machination, before which I affirm'd that Del Rio's Book was publisht 7 yeares. 2ly He'l grant I suppose, that the 7th of the Ides of March is according to our ordinary way of reckoning the 9th of the same Month, and abating ten dayes for the new stile, the 7th of the Ides of March will be the 27 of February. All this then being granted, & which no body can deny, it will follow (according to his own confession, & as he proves it by the Epistle to the Bp of Colen) that Del Rio's two first Books came out at Lovain on the 27th of Feb. 1599, which in England makes Feb. 1598, our yeare not be-

[a] Reas. Def. p. 34.

ginning 'till Lady-day; & therfor it is, that though the death of *King Charles the first* be with us *An.* 48, yet beyond sea, 'tis reckon'd 49; Nay this very *Reply*, which went to the Presse this last *Feb*, can passe at home in strictnesse of account but as printed in the latter end of 1673, whenas in all other Countreys tis own'd to have been printed in the beginning of 74. Has not then my *Adversary* pudder'd to much purpose, to make himselfe appeare ignorant in so ordinary a thing; & as he has lost a yeare in the *Publication of the two first Books*, so the like happen's in the other *four*; *the 5th of the Calends of March 1600 in Flanders, being in England the 15th of February 1599.* So much then for his first grosse Errour, & as I have got one of the yeares which he say'd I faild in, so now will I get the other, & show you that *Del Rio* publisht his 4 last Books in *Feb* 1598, as I first mētiond. For might I not lawfully say he *publisht* them then, if he then *publishes* to the very *Bishop* in print (as my Adversary acknowleges) *that his whole worke was perfectly finish'd & ready, but he had not time to print more of it, by reasō of the Mart &c.* But to come home to the businesse; what did I say? why my words are you see, *That Del Rio publisht his Book in Feb.* 1598, *for then the Licence for printing it bear's date*; so that my Affirmation of the then publishing those Books, is with reference only to their being perus'd & licens'd; which is most exactly true, & most evidētly appeares by the *vice-Provincial Manareus* his printed Licence for the whole six Books, even in the very page, where I am twitted of want of *Sagacity*; nay there's nothing in the said Page, but this *Licence*, & that of the

Cōfor

Censor of Lovain for the first two Books. & this I desire any one to examin, not only in *Gerard Rivius's Edition* (which my *Adversary* mention's) but in any *Edition*, that comes first to his hands; Only this is the Jest of it, that having in the beginning examin'd both the said *Approbations or Licences*, (which according to the *English Account* I saw were of the same yeare) when afterwards I came to cite the moneth, in which the *vice-Provintial* granted his said Licence, to wit, July 1598, & casting hastily my Eye on the *Censors of Lovain*, for want of heed I put down *Feb.* 98 in my *Answer to the Seasonable Discourse*, which was to my losse 7 moneths; for whereas I said, that this famous *Author* had his whole worke examind publickly, & Liberty also to print it 7 yeares before the 5th of November 1605, I should in Justice have urged, *that it was 7 yeares & odde moneths*. And now let both Friend & Foe judge how my Adversary has dealt with me, or rather with himselfe, When he ask's, *Whether I will hereafter have the face to take my selfe to be a man of honour, or expect to be believ'd in any thing I write or speak*, for he has no excuse nor shift left to cleer himselfe of the highest *Confidence* imaginable, but an *Ignorance* beyond expression; nay which is most to be wondred at, he ran himselfe into an inextricable Labyrinth, whenas the Dispute it selfe was frivolous, *it not being material whether Del Rio's book came out 7 yeares before the time, or 3 yeares*, according to his own Concession.

But now *Reader* to Apologize for him, you must know that the reason, why he fell upon this insignificant dispute was, That since I had taxt him (as is before mention'd) for that

inhumane & false affirmation, *That Del Rio affirmed, that Clement the 8th had by his Bull order'd, that no Priests should discover, what came to his knowledge by Confession, for the benefit of the SECULAR Government*, for I never dreamt that he would (for shame) have insisted, that the Pope knew of the Gun-powder Treason, because Del Rio had written a Book 7 yeares befor, in which a case of Conscience was stated, *whether a Confessor ought to discover or no the intended Treason of Blowing up the Prince*; I say the reason of his falling on this insignificant Dispute was, that being so homely & justly charg'd by me with this notorious falsification about *Clem. the 8th's Bull*, & not knowing what to reply to it, it came into his fancy that I had errd 2 yeares in my account, about the publication of *Del Rios Books*, so that if he baffled me there, 'twould (he believ'd) make a noise, & cause his Readers (now convinced, of my failing in a matter of Fact concerning that *Author*) neuer more to reflect upō Pope *Clement's* businesse, especially if he could show them that there were some hints there, of blowing up of Governors. Nay which is still pretyer, he had no sooner in his *Defence* wildly cited this out of *Del Rio*, but the *Sieur du Moulin* leaps at it like a Panther at his Prey, & presently (because it was one of the weakest things that ever my Adversary writ) reprints it in his [a] *Papal Tyranny*, as an evident Demonstration of the *Popes privity* & guilt in the *Powder-Treason*.

[a] *Pap. Tyr. p. 48.*

A new way of falsification.

By this then may be seen, how I have bin serv'd about *Del Rio*; nor is this the only way of falsifiyng, for besides the other Artifices (already mention'd) ther's a new one now in

in fashion; viz: *To state the Question not only contrary to the Writers real meaning, but to the ordinary acceptation, nay to the sole sence of the words; & when this is done to draw with an ERGO a mad conclusion, that the Readers who warily consults both Books, may be surpris'd at such arguing, & being once prejudicated, will (as 'tis hoped) run over the rest with great neglect & scorne.* To the end therfor that you may see what I meane, & the depth of the Plot, be pleasd to take these few examples out of one little Paragraph.

My *Adversary* (desirous in his *Seasonable Discourse* to incense all people against us, & railing with all the foul language imaginable against our *Religion*) a *would have Catholique Princes to be in a manner, but so many slaves to the Pope, as either ridden & impos'd upon by him, or else deprived of their Dominions & murther'd.* To this I answerd (& tis again repeated at large in this very c *Preface*) „ *That this was very strange „ since Catholique Princes were visibly* more po ver- „ full & absolute in their *Dominions*, than the „ *Reformed*, & that our own *Kings* were greater „ before their *Revolt than afterwards*; & that „ as for their *Lives*, they have bin so far from „ being securer, that all of them have come „ to *violent deaths*, as their own *Protestant „ Writers* acknowlege; But (continued I,) d *For my own part I lay not such abominations to the charge of any Religion, but to the pravity of humane nature. Which is also the cause that we are now abus'd by this unprincipled Incendiary; for were he not* Wicked *in the highest degree*, he *would never have grounded any Argument upon the vices & scandals of Popes, when he know's their Infallibility is no Article of Faith among us, & that we are not more bound to*

a *Seas. Disp.* 10

b *Ans. to the Seas. Disp.* 5

c *Vid also Pref. p.* 8

b *Ans. to the Seas. Disp.* 6

believe them unerrable, than is the Chancellor of France, or any Lieutenant criminal of Paris, That their King can do no wrong, which is as well a maxim of that Law, as 'tis of ours in England. Hereupon my *Adversary* in his *Reasonable Defence*, instead of replying & confuting with Reason what I alledg'd, cry's, a *That there's not a grane of Logick in all I say*, & then draw's these præposterous & disjointed *Consequences* from my words, as follow; „ Because (say's he) my Author „ for his part lay's no such abomination to „ the charge of any Religion, *therfor nobody else „ must, & therfor Papists are abus'd*; & becaus „ the Popes of Rome are not infallible, *therfor „ 'tis safe & eligible to submit to their yoke, though „ they be never so tyrannous*; And again, becaus „ we are no more bound to believe Popes „ unerrable, than is the Chancellor of Paris, „ that his King can do no wrong, *therfor tis still „ safe to submit to the Papacy*. 'Twould be to presume too much on your Patience *Reader*, after so hard a chase, should I follow him all along in this manner; be pleas'd then to hear but one *Ergo* more, and I'l now end for good & all with him. In the b *Seasonable Discourse* he affirm's (as you have already heard) *That Popery will endammage Trade, & the value of Lands or Rents*, & among other Instances, *Our eating of so much Fish is one, as a losse to the Grasier, & consequently to the Land lord.* Being astonisht at such strange Doctrine, contrary to the very Intent of several prudent c *Acts of Parliament*, nay to the Submission even of the *Nonconformists*, who agree with the rest of the Nation, *That the eating of Fish is political*; I say being astonisht at this Doctirne, I further

a *Reas. Def. p.* 11.

b *p.* 26.

c *Vid Act* 5 *to Eliz.*

ans-

answerd to this effect, [a] That surely some Fury had possess'd this *great Son of the Church*, seing he could strike down at a Blow that *Abstinence* which *Bp Andrews in his lenton Sermons*, & so many other *Protestant Divines* did so often even religiously advise; To this in the [b] *Defence*, he not only reply's, *That I elude his Argument*, but desires people to observe my *Full Answer*, as I call it, viz That because *Bp Andrewes* & other *Protestant Divines* commend *Fasting*, *Therfor though there should be more Fasting Dayes, there would be as much Flesh eaten.*

[a] *Anſ. to the Seaſ. Diſc. p.* 16.

[b] *Reaſ. Def. p.* 30.

This Reader is his way of arguing, & thus has he done at least 20 times in his said *Defence*; & who may not be easily answerd at this Rate; for having (as I say'd) distorted & made things fantastical, he presently cry's, *Well fare all Logic*; *A Rope of Sand*; *Crosse purposes*; *Tacking incoherent things together* with other expressions of the same nature, & so the Victory he hopes is gotten; for he well know's ther's no way of dealing with Truth but by ill representing it. Thus have I at last run over his *Defence*, & leave it to you *Reader* to determin whether it be so *Reasonable* as he pretends, nor remain's there any thing more in it, but about the *Bp of Angelopolis*, which is fully treated of in the 11th [c] *Reply*; & *Mr Whites* alias *Blacklow's condemnation*, treated of in the [d] *Third*.

[c] *p.* 237

[d] *p.* 77.

As for the *Postscript* of the *Answer to his Seasonable Discourse*, he call's it a *Heavy Repetition*, & *a thing that requires no Answer*, which is another *Stratagem* that these late *Engineers* have found out to undermine *Popish Books*, when they finde themselves prest home, & know not what to say; nay perchance there was more truth in

the

the word *Heavy*, than he at first imagin'd. But to the end that others may be Judges in the *Controversy*, & not we that are Parties, The most material part of it shall be inserted in the *Postscript* that follows. Now whereas he takes it ill, [a] *that (in my Answer to his Reasonable Discourse) I us'd him with so little Respect as to call him Sir Rol*; let me first ask him, how one (as Mr [b] *Marvel* smartly has it) *Who uses that anonymous & sculking method of Writing*, can expect Ceremony, having not only calumniated so many great Noblemen & *Gentlemen* of our *Religion*, but endeavoured by his scandalous *Pamphlets*, & *Invectives* to incite all People against us. And besides, how can he complain, when in this very last *Book* (besides other expressions) he call's me [c] *Madman*, [d] *Buffoon*, [e] *& Liar*; yet to show him, that Papists are not so vindicative, & that we have Deference to Persons when we understand their Quality & Condition, & I do now by his Puntilios suppose him not of an ordinary one; I say to show him this, I have not in my present Treatise so much as once called him *Minister*, nor rallied in the least with him, though 'twere impossible to have a fairer Subject, or a more *Reasonable* opportunity, than he has ben pleas'd to afford me by his *Defence*.

a *Reas. Def. p.* 46.

b *Reher. Transp. 2d part p.* 41.

c *Reas. Def. p.* 27.

d *p.* 34.

e *p.* 37.

The END of the OBSERVATIONS on the REASONABLE DEFENCE.

THE

THE POSTSCRIPT

To the aforesaid Person of Honour, Author of the Animadversions on Mr Cressy's Books &c.

My Lord.

YOu have now had a full account, not only of whatsoever has frō time to time bin lay'd at our dores; but of the strongest evidences & arguments also, by which the *Tertullus's* & best *Orators of Protestantisme*, endeavour to make good the Charge; but how weake, nay how false they prove, I willingly leave to your *Lp* to determine. For what a noise has there bin this long while, that *Popery* is opposite to the Grādure of Kings; *& yet* (upon Examinatiō) *we finde even our own Monarchs never greater, than when they were Papists, & our Nation never in more Tranquillity & Esteem.* What exclamations are there even to this day against us for our Stirs in the beginning of the Reformation; *whereas on the contrary, the* a Pref. p. 8.

P4-

a Rep 28 p. 386. a *Patience & Resignation of our Catholique Fore-fathers to the Will of God in that great Devastation & Ruine surpasse all Examples in any other Religion: Neither did those few Commotions among the Rabble proceed from Precepts of Faith, but from a natural impulse to oppose Novelties.* Our former Efforts also for the *Royal House of Scotland*, are still lay'd to our Charge as high Treason, &

b Rep. 6. p. 150. & Rep. 22. p. 371. b *yet the putting up of* b *Jane Grey, & the other unparelleld Actions for the Protestant Interests, are not only silētly pass'd over by some, but justified by the Pens & Tongues of others.* Nay the private actions of *Popes*, & the Writings of a few *Doctors* are charg'd upon us as part of our *Religiō*, though we (that are so precise in all matters of Faith) deny it; *whenas on the other side there were never such spe-*

c Rep. 6. p. 146. *culative & practical* c *Rebels, as the chief Apostles of the Reformation.* And moreover, d *though*

d Rep. 28 p. 399. *but* 13. *Papists were drawn into the Powder Treason by the dexterity of a Protestant*, yet all of us, (even the *Children* of those that were to be blown up by the *Traytors*) are held guilty of this Original sin. How lowd still are the Cryes against *Q. Mary's* dayes, as if her Cruelty were unparalled;

e Rep. 11 p. 191. *& yet I have made it* e *appeare (besides the liberty she granted, & the usage she had in requital) that far more Catholiques have*

died

died by the Protestant Government for their Faith, than Protestants by us; & that since the Exclusion of the Pope, they have judicially spilt a greater quantity of blood, than all the Catholique Kings we ever had. The [a] *Massacre of France is prov'd* (you see) *to have bin not the effects of our Religion, but an indirect way to suppresse Rebellion:* Nor are we in *England* ever abominating the fact, *more guilty of what the* [b] *IRISH have done*, than is the *Protestant's Faith* for the Butchery & Cruelty's at *Amboyna*.

[a] *Rep.* 18 *p.* 313.

[b] *Rep.* 1. *p.* 51.

They are not then (your *Lp* finds) *Points of Divinity* that often afford two handles, but the *Particulars of Fact* out of our own, & forren *History* (a study neither unfit nor ungratefull to men of Quality) with which I have now troubled you, & demonstrated also thereby the infinite Injuries & Wrongs we suffer. Nor can I doubt (though the natural prejudice, that many of our Worthy Fellow-Subjects have suckt in with their first milk, has had some effect too upon your *Lordship*) but that you will be yet of a far different opinion; especially since by your putting pen to paper, you are now perchance more addicted than formerly to Books, which being maturely search'd & consider'd, will still further show you how much Malice & by-ends

have

have distracted one of the most flourishing Kingdoms of the world.

This must needs have weight with your Lordship (who professes to be so real & hearty a *Patriot*) since it is already extremely prevalent with an other, I meane the *Author of the Expedient*, who expresses as real a Passion for his Countrey as 'tis possible for a man to do. For though he is not wanting in his Admiration of the *Church of England*, yet he has Bowels of Compassion for all *Dissenters, because the Protestant Religion has taught him* (he sayes) *they may be saved, & Experience & Reason shown him, how the usual Rigour has bin the Nations Ruine & Destruction.* Most fully therfor he states all their opinions, & after he has acquainted us with what *Presbyterians & Independents* hold, he thus speakes of the *Papists*.

[a] *Exp. p. 2.*

Exped. p. 4.

„ Nor shall *I damne Papists* for matters „ of Faith, whilst they believe the *Tri-* „ *nity*, & can patch up their other Doc- „ trines so, as not really to intend therby „ the dishonour of our great Lord & Mas- „ ter; for as I sayd before, *God* forbid every „ errour of Judgment should be a sin to „ death.

„ *They fancy many Promises in Scripture,* „ *that the Church shall never erre, That it is*

so

„ *to be visible in Prosperity & Adversity as*
„ *a Judge in all Disputes that occur*, &
„ therfor laugh at *Protestants* for affirming
„ that the *Scriptures* are easy, seing all
„ Sects among us quote it for what they
„ hold, & yet the one is quite opposite to
„ the Tenets of the other in things of the
„ highest Nature.

„ They preach up *MERITS* (they say)
„ *to encourage men to worke*; but tell us exo-
„ pressly (when we urge them with the foul-
„ nesse of the Tenet) *That neither their own*
„ *Actions nor the Actions of any Saint can*
„ *in themselves be sufficient to bring them to*
„ *Heaven, did not God promise to accept*
„ *them as meritorius & sufficient by the su-*
„ *perabundant merits of Christs.*

„ *They honour SAINTS* (they say)
„ *only because they were faithfull servants of*
„ *Christ*, & believe that these *holy Spirits*,
„ must needs know our wants, *by their*
„ *rejoicing in Heaven at our Conversion*; &
„ *That their Payers for us are much more po-*
„ *werfull with God, than those of our Friends*
„ *here below, which we all often implore.* Yet
„ they oblige none to pray to *Saints* except
„ they will.

„ They thinke by our *Saviour's* saying,
„ *That some sins* (viz those against the
„ *Holy-Ghost*) *shall not be forgiven in this*
World

„ *World nor in the world to come, that it*
„ *inferrs, that others sins may be forgiv̄e in this*
„ *world, & in the world to come*; & therfor
„ *they* PRAY *for the* DEAD, *that have built*
„ *upon hay & stubble & other imperfect things*,
„ whom *St Paul* to the *Corinthians* declares
„ (they say) *shall be saved so as by fire*. And
„ they more firmly also believe this *PUR-*
„ *GATORY* because the *Maccabees* (that
„ fought for the maintenance of God's
„ Law,) *pray'd for their slayn Brethren*,
„ which they often urge is recorded by
„ an unquestionable *Historian*, if not by
„ a *Divine Writer*.

„ As to their *Idolatry in the Sacrament*,
„ they say, *That by believing Christ really*
„ *there, 'tis him they worship, & not a piece*
„ *of Bread*; That the thing is no lesse pos-
„ sible according to humane Reason, than
„ the *Trinity*; That the words, THIS
„ IS MY BODY are as plaine, as *There are*
„ *three that bear Record in Heaven*; & that
„ it is much for their Advantage, *that all*
„ *Sects of Christians in the world grant the*
„ *REAL PRESENCE, except a few Cal-*
„ *vinists*, as they call them.

„ By that text of Scripture, *Confesse your*
„ *sins one to another*, They thinke their
„ *CONFESSION* enjoyn'd; & *that Christ's*
„ *Commission to his Desciples to binde & loose*,

and

„ authorises their *Priest's Absolutions &*
„ *Interdictions.* And before many of their
„ Books of *Pilgrimages*, *Reliques*, *Pictures*,
„ & the like (to show their Worship is
„ relative) they print this piece of *St*
„ *Jerom's Epistles*, against *Vigilantius*; —
„ *We honour the Reliques of Martyrs, to*
„ *render adoration to him for the love of whom*
„ *they were Martyrs; We honour the Servants,*
„ *that what we do for their service, may be*
„ *refer'd to their Master, Who sayes, he that*
„ *recieves you, recieves me.*

„ I should never have done (continu's
„ he) were I to set down all their Opi-
„ nions & *Jesuitical* glosses, but this I
„ must say for them, that they have
„ much lesse to Answer, *since they really*
„ *think themselves in the right*, & are so
„ united in their *Fundamentals*, whilst the
„ poor *Protestants* (to the great shame &
„ weakning of the Common Cause) *quarrel*
„ *irreconcileably about niceties, & then divide*
„ *& subdivide without end.* Far be it therfor
„ from us *to damn these Papists*, though
„ ignorant, especially seing we must do the
„ like then to the *Lutherans*, who are not
„ only *Protestants*, but the first *Reformers*
„ also; for their *Churches* are cram'd with
„ *Crucifixes* & *Pictures*, & which is more,
„ *they as really believe Christ in the Sacra-*

ment,

„ment, *as the* Pope *himselfe*; the main „point in which he & his brood commit „*Idolatry*, as the *Church of England* & the „other *reform'd Churches* hold.

Thus ends this *Author* his account of the Popish Tenets, Nor is it his opinion only, that *Papists are in the State of Grace*, but the opinion of all the *Protestant Writers* I know, whether lay or Clergy-men; Nay a *King* [a] *James*, even in his *Parliamentary Speech*, (after speaking of our *Doctrine of the Real Presence*, 7 *Sacraments &c.*) *acknowleges those of our Profession Partakers of Eternal life, who at their Death put their whole hope & trust in the Merits of Christ crucified*; a thing so necessary to Salvation that without it, none of us (as the *Pope* himself will grant) can avoid the punishment of *Hell* hereafter.

[a] K. I. works p. 501.

If then my Lord our *Religion* destroys not the *Soul*, how can it the Body, I mean the temporal felicity of the Kingdom, *since England never saw it selfe* (as I said) *in that Lustre & Grandure, as when she profes'd this Faith*. And as for the *Catholiques* of our age, no race of men have ever showd more Loyalty, *even from the Standard* (as I formerly [b] mentrond) *that we rescued* at *Edge Hill, which was the first Battail, to the saving of this King's life after Worcester, which*

[b] Pref. p. 16.

which was the last, & so proportionably on all occasions 'til his happy restauration. Nor are we our selves the sole *Heralds* of our great actions, but (besides several gentle & moderate *Protestants*) those that write against us, have sufficiently acknowledg'd them, though in the Close they intended us thereby but little Comfort & Advantage.

My very Adversary, we see, sticks not in his *Answer* to our *Apology*, to tell us, [a] *We willingly acknowledge that some of your Church in that critical day did the King very eminent service.* And in the like manner *Dr Stanhop* compliments saying; [b] *It is a truth beyond all question that there were a great many Noble, Brave & Loyal Spirits of the Romish perswasion, who did with the greatest Integrity, & without any other Designs than satisfying Conscience, adventure their lives in the War for the King's service; & that several, if not all of those, were men of such Souls, that the greatest Temptations in the world could not have perverted, or made them desert their King in the height of his miseries.* Has not also one of your great *Prelates* (for so men deem the Author) in his [c] *State of Christianity in England* written thus of us, *The English Papist* (say's he) *for his Courage & Loyalty in the last war deserves to be recorded in the Annales of Fame & History; & perhaps thus*

[a] p. 13.

[b] Sureft. Estab. of the Roy. Thr. p. 30.

[c] p. 253.

may not be unworthy of notice, that whensoever the Usurper or any of his Instruments of Blood & Sycophancy resolvd to take away the life or Estate of a Papist, it was his Loyalty, not Religion that expos'd him to their Rapine & Butchery. One Citation more I will now trouble your *Lordship* with, *to wit*, a *Person's of honour*, even your own, & men-

[a] p. 86. tion'd by you in your [a] *Animadversions. The King (say you) lookt upon many of the Roman Catholiques as Persons who had deserved well of his blessed Father & himselfe, which cannot be denied, & upon the rest as good Subjects, & upon all of them as men, who had suffer'd with him, if not for him in the late barbarous times of Usurpation.*

But now my *Lord* after our so often acknowledg'd Loyalty, & our so many transcendent Actions, what have they bettered or profited us? Yea so far have they bin from advantage, that humanly speaking we are the worse for them; some out of *Envy*, some out of *Revenge*, & others for *by-Ends* maligning us. Nor is it a little wonder to many to find your *Lordship* in

[b] p. 89. this Crowd, & telling us [b] *of a petulant & unruly Spirit; & advising Mr Cressy to revolve how much he & two or three more have contributed to the Storme.* As for *Mr Cressy*, whom your *Lordship* pretends to know, I

shall

shall presently say something of him, In the meane time give me leave to aske you (after you have bin also pleas'd *to revolve*) whether this reason (according to your own stating it) becom's a person of your judgment & Honour; viz *That because two or three have bin petulant*, therfore all the wonderfull Duty of the *English Catholiques* in the late troubles, & their continu'd Zeale for the *Crown* to this day, ought (without any Distinction) to be forgotten, & they thereby rendred not only in a far worse condition than the *Rebels*, but many of the *Regicides* also. If there be some *petulant men* among us, why are not they the sufferers, & the rest permitted to enjoy the privileges of their Birth right? But our Innocency is too cleere; & nothing is more easy than to *finde a Staff to beat a Dog*, when we fancy it for our Advantage; nay seing none are more liable to this misfortune than Men of remarke and quality, I thought your *Lordship* would have bin far more tender in adding noise to a partial Cry, since who know's how soon either you or yours may fall into the misery also of being overborne by Power.

I must againe confesse I was surpris'd to finde this frō a *Person of honour*; for I thought your *Lordships* innate Generosity & good

nature (being now under your own Vine & Fig-tree) would have engag'd you to use that Autority, which your Merits & Quality have doubtlesse gaind you, in hindering the oppression of a *Party* ever faithfull to the honour & interest of your Country, & whose *Ancestors*, together with your own *Catholique* ones, not only lay'd the whole Foundation & Platforme of our *happy Government*, but brought it actually (as I now hinted) to such a passe; that we became as glorious a Nation as ever the Sun shone upon; & therfor doubtlesse your *Lordship*, who well knows our former happinesse, & professes so great a Concerne for the Kingdom's temporal good, cannot think that *Popery* will enslave us.

We deny not, that there may have bin sometimes miscarriages; & miscarriages are incident to all people at one time or other; nay they have happen'd here in what you & every body grant to be most necessary & essential for the publique good. Do not our *Histories* record many Actions of our *Princes* very far from being justifiable? Do not they show too what Ravage & harme (& this with great pretence of Right) our *Barons* & prime *Nobility* have committed, whilst the Power was in their hands? And have not

not they mention'd what ruines & exorbitances our *Commons* could also bring, calling that Justice, which was so directly opposit both to the Law of God & Man? All things in this world carrie their Inconveniences along with them; nor would *Christ* exempt even the *Governors of his Church* in practical things frō having sometimes the Passions of men; & therfore our most *Catholique Ancestors* enacted wholesome *Lawes* to keep our *Clergy* in bounds; but no *Lawes* are of sufficiēt force to obviat Abuses at all times, especially when weak *Princes* & unfortunate *Conjunctures* happen. 'Tis far then from a reasonable Cause of Revolt (for the late *Rebels* we see did the like with *King-ship*) to cry, That *Popes* did thus & thus; but we ought to look how flourishing & happy we were, whilst they were our Spiritual Pastors, & what constant distractions & disorders have attended us ever since. We ought also to consider the present greatnesse (as I said before) of *Popish Kings*, who though they are sollicitous to the heigth of encreasing their Dominions & power, aime not in the least at throwing off the *Pope's Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction*, but on the contrary owne it usefull, and advantagious, as we see [a] *Protestants* themselves are forc'd to do. Not

[a] *Vid. Pref. p. 12.*

hasGod only ſuffer'd our Nation tobe thus diſcõpos'd in general, but ſeverely punisht alſo the particular Cauſers & Promotors of it's *Schiſme* & our ill uſage. For to what a ſad cataſtrophé (even for perſonal *Treaſons* & delinquencies, which are moſt dread full Judgments) came *Anne of Bullen*, *Cranmer* & *Cromwel*, who out ofprivateDeſigns begã the Revolt under *Hen. the eighth*; *Somerſet & Northumberland likewiſe* that widen'd the breach, whilſt *Ed:* the 6th reign'd:as alſo the *Duke of Norfolk*, who(as *Cãbden* tell's us)was ſo main a Stickler & Renewer of it, as ſoon as *Q. Eliz.* came to theCrown. Nay this I can farther ſay, *that there is no one Perſon of note, that occurs to me ſince the Reformation (which is no long time, God wot) that has bin a great perſecuter of Catholiques, who came not himſelfe remarkably to a miſerable End, or whoſe Family is not utterly extinct, or fallen into ſome very eminent & known misfortune.*

Nor is it a ſmal manifeſtatiõ of the iuggle of our Enemies (which alſo ought really to awaken the ſincere & inquiſitive) to ſee them perpetually charging us with the Crimes, that they themſelves are guilty of in the higheſt degree imaginable. Obſerve therfor any man that writes againſt us, & preſently (let his *Diſcourſe* be of what *Point* you pleaſe) he will fall (beſides the other

old

old Stories) on our *inconsistency with Obedience, & our delight in Persecution*, though tis evident (& I have fully shown it in the *Sixt Reply*) *that in all Countries where the Reformed Religion has bin preacht, as greate Rebellions have follow'd, as ever History mention'd.* And as for *Dissenters* in Opinion, *Protestants* have ever bin superlatively severe to them, & no where more than in England; moreover though they have far exceeded the *Marian Dayes*, the Case in it selfe between us & them is (as I [b] say'd) vastly different; for (all Countryes being at the Reformation actually in our possession) we might justly expect more favour of them, than they of us; yet under several *Catholique Governments* we grant them the Indulgēce of open *Churches, Employments*, & other privileges, which they will not permit us in any place where the Autority is in their hands. Nay we are so tender, that the *Inquisition* it selfe is in no Countrey where *Heretiques* are numerous; nor can any one justly blame us, if we strive to keep new opinions (which have been so fatal to Christendom) out of Places wholy Obedient to the *Church*: yet for all this in *Portugal*, & even in *Italy* I have seen *Ministers* publicly allow'd the *English Factors*, though *Priests* were never

[a] p. 145.

[b] *Rep.* 17 p. 306.

never granted in London to any *Popish Merchants* whatsoever.

The *Catholique Church*, my Lord, conſiders *Sects*, as the civil Magiſtrate dos *Rebels*, for where they are very few, they may chance to ſuffer according to the eſtablisht Lawes of the Land; but if they grow numerous, Pity cauſes us then to punish none (upon a Religious account) with Death, but *prayers*, *preaching*, *& Books muſt be our lawfull Armes to deſtroy them*. This makes us therefore more ſevere in *Spain*, & *Italy*, & gentler in *France Germany*, *&c.* Yet in *England* (which, ever ſince the *Reformation*, abounded with *Catholiques*) we have bin proſecuted with Fire & Sword, as if we had brought in a new *Religion*, that had never bin heard of before. How different is this proceedure from *Ethelbert's*, our firſt *English Chriſtian King*, though converted by a *Monck*; for he, as *St* [a] *Bede* show's us, *never perſecuted any Pagan Subject, but gave every body the freedom of his Conſcience*. He well underſtood from his *Spiritual Directors* that it was contrary to the Faith they had taught him, to punish a *Religion* in poſſeſſion; & yet the late new *Goſpel* has had no conſideration of *Papiſts*, though our moſt *Fundamental Lawes* eſtablisht their *Religion*, & that

[a] *Hiſt. Gent. Ang. p.* 163.

that the maintenance of it has bin ſworne unto (ſince the very Conqueſt it ſelfe) by at leaſt 20 of our Monarchs. Nay the *Author of the Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, who is a *Clergy man* (it ſeemes) of account in your *Church*, both for his Learning & the Poſt he is in, tells us, [a] That the King *ſtill ſwears at his Coronation to protect & defend the Biſhops & the Churches under his Government, to preſerve the Canonical Privileges, to confirme the Lawes, Cuſtomes, & Franchiſes, granted by the glorious King SAINT Edward &c.* If therfor all our *Proteſtant Princes* even by the conſent & approbation of the *Proteſtant Clergy* & Chief *Miniſters of State* (who advis'd the continuation of this antient *Oath*) have in ſo ſolemn & religious a manner own'd *King Edward for a glorious SAINT*, how odde muſt it needs be to perſecute men of approv'd loyalty, only for profeſſing the *Faith* which carried him into that acknowledg'd Bliſſe & Glory.

[a] *Reproofe* p. 24.

What Party alſo beſides us, (that deem'd it ſelfe oppreſ'd) ever faild of favouring thoſe that were in hoſtility with the Kingdom? Did not the *Presbyterians* in 1666 take the advantage of the bloody war we were in with *Holland*, *France* & *Denmarke*, to breake into a dangerous *Rebellion*? Did not all the *Independents*, that were then in

pay

pay in *Holland*, openly abjure their Countrey? & did not many of them headed by *Doleman*, become chief Actors in our great mis-fortune at *Chatham*? for, as nothing can cut a *Diamond* but a *Diamond*, so forren Nations must never hope to foile *England* without the courage & helpe of *English*. Just contrary to this was our procedure; for the *Scotch Papists* with their Commander my *Lord Douglas* left *France* upon the breach, & valiantly fought with the losse of many of their lives against the Traytors in that very *Chatham* buisinesse. And as for the *English Catholiques*, several of them not only went to Sea, & there spilt their blood against the Enemys of the Nation, but the very *Popish Guards* also were even sent to *Scotland* to suppresse that dangerous Insurrection, as soon as ever the newes came of its breaking out. Nor were we lesse diligent about our Countrey's honour abroad; for at *Rome*, *Paris*, *Bruxelles*, *Liege*, & all other places, we so detected the *Dutch* Forgeries, that even the Partial did at last owne our Victories. This our Zeal for the Nation every body in *Holland* was so sensible of, that *de Wit* being then, for divers reasons, solliciting for a Guard (& believing that no Rumor in probability would make his life seem more in danger,

than

than an *English* Designe against it) caus'd to be publisht in the *Amsterdam Gazettes*, *That two English Jesuits had undertaken to kill him.* Thus acted we from first to last, nor proclamed we our persecutions (as my *Adversary* taxes us) in the Courts of forren *Princes*, but they were, & are still their publique *Ministers* & *Agents*, who comment as they please on things, & fill *Europe* with noise, that the English are become most hard hearted & ungratefull, being earnest to have that rigour exercis'd against their *tried Friends*, which *Cromwel* was almost asham'd to use, *though we were his profest & open Enemies.*

As for Liberty of Conscience, we never desir'd any particular Favour, but that every body should enjoy the blessing, even in an ampler manner than our selves; & this I can say (when we enjoy'd it) that no People received a Grace with a more hearty acknowlegement, & with greater Moderation & Respect than we: Nor was there during that yeare of Peace one *Priest*, one *Masse*, one *Conversion* more in *England* than in 63, 66 or any other time of trouble; for your *Lordship* well know's that true Christian zeal is never lessen'd by persecution.

Certainly I may justly call 72 a yeare of Peace

Peace, when in it (the long & private Animosities of several Factions being appeased) the *Temple of Janus* became closely shut, a thing not heard of in this our Isle, since *Luther's* first appearence in the world. And who could expect otherwise; for what thoughts can Men have, when they find themselves not oppres't, but the publique good; whereas Rigor forces the unprincipled to combinations & ligues, & work's too upon the frailties of human Nature, so that good men themselves become often tepid & careless. Nor do's *Toleration* alwayes prejudice the establish't *Religion* of a Nation, as we experimentally find by the *French Hugonots*, who had infinit *Proselytes* during the reigne of the *House of Valois*, which exercis'd all the cruelty they mention; but since the *Bourbon Line* came to the Crown, & they were freed from the usual noise of *Massacres* & Dangers, *they never vaunted in their Conversions & increase.*

Who ever found *Dissenters* so united to the *Government* as after that glorious *Declaration of Indulgence*; & who since the *Restauration of his Majesty* saw this Kingdom so courted & esteemed by our Neighbours. Well therfor might the then *Chancellor* in his *Speech* say, [a] *That Reputation*

[a] *Ld: Shaftsburys Speach Feb. 1673.*

was

was the great Support of War, seing in the Space of two moneths after the Suppression, of the Declaration, we fell (without the losse of either *Town*, *Ship*, or *Man*) from a mighty People, low in the opiniõ, not only of *Strangers*, but of all our *Allies* also. What new Courage did our Enemies receive by the accidẽt, & how did they, that lately addressed themselves with all submission call us afterwards *Polanders*? *De Wit* we see (in the [a] *Dutch mans Letters*) *was terrified by this general Indulgence beyond expression; because he imagin'd it would wholly unite the Nation;* [b] *but his secõd thoughts (it seemes) gave him courage again, finding that some of our selfe-interested Clergy would get his Majesty to repeal it, to the encrease of our Jealousies & Distractions.* This consideration made him ever defie us, & though he liv'd not to the fulfilling of his *Prophecy*, yet his Followers glory in his Maximes, & have at length enjoy'd the foretold Advantage.

[a] *Duch Letters p. 3.*

[b] *Ib. p. 4.*

If therfor *Indulgence to tender Consciences* was then, & (which is more) is still found infinitely beneficial to the Kingdom, why might not we Catholiques without immodesty expect the Blessing, who have so eminently showd our selves good Subjects? Nay upon the bare score of *Pitty* (*had Papists no other Plea*) none could, or can

can so justly pretēd to *Favour* as Papists. For we see among all *Sects*, their Men of Note go sometimes to *Church*, & receive also without thinking it a sin, or being excommunicated by their Party; Nor do they otherwise pretend, than, *that the Protestant manner of Worship is nauseous, & of no edification*; whereas such a Conformity is quite opposite to the very *Fundamentals* of the *Catholique Religion*, so that *Mercy* (if it ought to be granted) is much fitter for them, that (according to their *Principles*) cannot comply without a positive transgression, than for those that only think their owne way of *Worship* better. Far were we nevertheless from the least repining at those larger priviledges, which all other *Dissenters* enjoy'd, being fully contented with the *Liberty of our Chambers*, which the *Turk* never denyes any body in his Dominions. And what surpris'd us above measure, was; That all the *Nonconformists* (with whom we never had correspondence, or yet opportunities to serve) should show (through the whole course of that tranquil yeare) that *Affection & Brotherly Love*, which they (with whom we have bin long acquainted, & who made us many outward Professions) deem'd unfit to afford us, God reward the one for their

Chris-

Christian Charity (which I wish we could requite) & pardon the others if they have forgot their try'd Friēds & Relations.

For my part, I think nothing ought more to alarm the Members of the *Church of England*, & make them doubt that their *Religion* is not so true, nor ours so false (as their Leaders would have them believe) than their so much apprehending us. For who, that can think himselfe in the right way, would dread the propagating of our *Faith, which is* (as our Enemies profesſe) *so contrary to Sense & Reason, so full of Obebience, Penances & other severe Austerities, & that has no humane advantage, which equals, much lesse excelles the Protestants*; I say what wise man can apprehend the growth of such a *Religion*, if it be so silly & false, as they would have it? Or who can fear here the decay of the *Reformed*, that besides it's Verity, has so many *Patrons*, so many *Preferments*, so many *Libraries*, so many *Presses*, so many *Scholars*, & so many other *great helps* to support it? Much more generous methinks, are all other Sects among us; for on the one hand they charitably assent to our being indulg'd, & yet fear not our preying on their Flock. Thus the learned *Dr. Wild* (a *Presbyterian* in Profession) abbridged neither

in

in his witty *Letter*, nor in his *gratulatory Poem to his Majesty*, our *Christian Liberty*, & yet defies our *Doctrine*, acknowledging the *Bible* a sufficient Defence against it. The Quakers too, we see, by Mr *Pen's* late *Sober Proposal*, look upon us as *Englishe men*, & would not have us persecuted for *Religion*; but they are so far from imagining that we should thereby gain upon their Party, that both they & all *Independents* also, earnestly desire that *Christ* & *Anti-Christ* may meet, assuring themselves that the Victory will not be long in getting.

If then, *my Lord*, the *Protestant Religion* suffers in it's *Honour* by this *Diffidence*, & in it's *Charity* by the great *Severity* us'd towards us; the whole Nation, I am sure, receive's losse both at home & abroad in it's Interest. And this also the Author of the *Expedient* in short show's us; for having by several Arguments proved *Toleration* advantagious to the Kingdom, he thus concludes „ a Nor shall we then to the „ present wonder of Mankin'd be alwayes „ (as our very *Grammar* has it) *consulting* „ *about Religion*; nor will our *Parliaments* „ be longer troubled with the *Insolences of* „ *Papists & Phanatiques*, which have bin the „ common artifices to divert sober motions when

a *Exp. p.* 16.

„ when they run counter to the privat Inte-
„ rest of a few.

This I doubt not but your *Lordship* is sufficiently sensible of; for as 'tis impossible to be considerable among our *Neighbors*, whilst the drolling Part of them can deride our humour, & the graver sort find reasons neither to trust nor fear us, being prepossess'd by our constant Factions & Divisions, that let us seem never so well one moneth, we shall assuredly be off of the hinges the next; I say, as 'tis impossible for us to be deem'd considerable by our Neigbours (*& Reputation is halfe the Support of any Nation*) so 'tis beyond our own hopes to see our selves ever really quiet, since every ill man has at hand the pretended Concernes of *Religion*, which is found it seemes the sure way of creating real *Jealousies* & *Feares* among the Ignorant, & *Factions* & *Cabals* among the subtile. And certainly one great Cause of our former Grandure was, that the *Laysty* distracted not their Councels with matters of *Faith*, & the like, but wholly busied themselves about *War & Peace*, & our other *Temporal* concerns; whereas since the *Reformation* halfe our publique consultations & debates have bin (as is said) about Religion, not only to the retarding, but the quashing also

of our important affaires, if it suted not with the Intrigues of the most prevailing sect. Nay, as in the late *Rebellion* the *Fasts & Humiliatiõs* were ever the Schreech-Owls, & Foreboders of an insuing Mischief, so for above these 60 yeares, the *royal Prerogative* never suffer'd, no great *Minister of State* has bin disgrac't, nor the *Protestant Church* it selfe directly or indirectly wounded, but a fearfull Noise about Religion, & Out-Cry against *Popery* preceded; and by the way, if you fully consider it, you'l finde that *Popery* was never smartly persecuted, but all this immediatly follow'd.

Nor is your *Lordship* ignorant also that our old *Provinces in France*, & especially *Normandy*, have natural Inclinations for us; as also, that the *Low-countries* (since *Spain* is so unable to defend them) want not the like tendency to the gentle yoak of our easy Government; yet who know's not that our perpetual hubbub, & fierceness against *Popery*, & our strange severity when we have the power in our hands, shock them most infinitly, which perchance would be no little disadvantage to us, were we as desirous as formerly to encrease our Dominions. At least I'm sure we loose & render useless at home many of our own Fellow-Subjects & Relations, who have both Passion & Abilitie

to serve their King & Countrey; for (as that late *Protestant* & Stickler for the Nations Interest, says in his a *Defence of the Zelanders choice*) „ A *Papist* may be a loyal „ *Subject*, a wise *Statesman*, a fit *Ambas-* „ *sador*, a good *Soldier*, & merit his *Princes* „ *favour* though of a *Different Religion*. a Sect. 4.

All this being then consider'd, can your *Lordship* really believe, that your *Catholique Friends* & *Acquaintance* ought thus to be dealt with; or that their *Persecution* can tende to the welfare of the Nation? No my *Lord*, 'tis their own private Interest, that some few of yours seek, & that being in the Balance, 'twil soon præponderate, let the Counter-poise be never so cõsiderable. What gainfull crime or Sacrilege was there ever yet committed, but found its *Defenders*; & those too so zealous & so seemingly convinc'd of the Justice of their Cause, that they really pitied the contrary Party as blinde & ignorant? Did not the *Long Parliament* notwithstanding the plainenesse of their Offences & *Rebellion*, judge thus of *Royallists*? Did not the *Rump* wonder how any man could be so weake as to question their Autority or thinke the Nation was not to be made happy by them? Did not *Cromwel* repay those holy Senators with the same usage? Nay did not that

Mola or rather *unlickt Cub* call'd the *Comittee of Safety* (that had neither Rhyme nor Reason on it's side) expostulate & admire their Folly, that deem'd it's plea & Pretence unsatisfactory? But my *Lord* as no Expedient could reduce the Nation to the present Order, but the once *Despicable Thing*, the *Common Enemy* (for *Right* is alwayes the *despicable*, & *common Enemy* of *Wrong*) so the time must come, when men will see that poore *Popery* is the only meanes of putting the Kingdom firmely on its legs, & of perpetuating it's Felicity. And because you seem more affraid of the *Pope*, than of his *Doctrine*, I must tell you that the *Papists of England* (as you now experimētally see in France & elswhere) will be ever as great *Oppugners* of the *Encroachments* of the *Court of Rome*, as the *Protestants* themselves; For as a good *Subject* in the *Civil* Government may lawfully stand up for the *just Liberties* of the People, so a good *Catholique* may, & will oppose all extravagant & exotique Claimes in the *Spiritual*. Nor can any body with the least glimpse or shadow of Reason suppose, That we who actually suffer in our Persons, Estates, & Preferments, rather than deny our *Religion*, would ever out of selfe-ends betray the *Honour* & *Interest* of our deare *Country*, which

which is a Treason, & Breach in our *Religion* of the first classe & Magnitude. This certainly no man can reasonably suppose, Nay *England* well knows, (as I have often said) how much she is beholden to our *Catholique Ancestors*; & though sometimes Eclipses & Fadings might happen (which every created thing is Subject to) yet those Faithfull Patriots were never quiet 'til her Lustre return'd, & that she became againe glorious, & *lovely, even as the Tents of Kedar, & as the Curtins of Salomon.*

We study not therefore by-advantage but *Conscience*, & of this *Mr Cressey* himselfe is a worthy Example, who (being in his raw & younger dayes found worthy of eminent Preferment by you) might now in probability (after his experience abroad, & mighty advancement in Learning) have bin one of the greatest *Clergy-men* in the Nation. Nay, had he had never so potent Enemies, they could not have hinder'd him, *upon his bare going to Church*, from the Enjoyment of his former ample *Dignities*, & the vast *Fines* also lately raised out of them. But a little Cell with an upright heart was more dear to him, than all those allurements; nor has he since ceas'd by his *Prayers, Mortifications*, & *Labours* to show himselfe (like the rest of his pious

Brethren) a true Son of that *Holy Order*, to which our Nation is so much engaged.

And here let me ask your Lordship, whether our poor *Religious* in general be not real Contemners of their own Concernes, & desirous of *God's* honour above all things; seing that (besides the preliminary Dangers & Vexations) should they at last be Masters of their Wishes, that is to say *Convert the Nation*, they would but draw upon themselves (humanely speaking) the utmost misery & misfortune imaginable. For wheras now they commonly live with Patrons of Note, & enjoy perchance some innocent divertisments if they can escape civil Officers; recieving also the consolation incident to all persecuted People, viz. *to be caress'd by their afflicted Party*; I say whereas they enjoy now these Comforts, no sooner should *England* be *Catholique*, but some of them must presently be *cloath'd* in *Habits* as bad as *haircloth*, some *lye* at best on *sacks of Straw*, some *go perpetually barefoot*, some *feed* only on *Scraps*, some *live in a strict & profound silence*, but all are sure to *be shut within four Walls*, & never to stir out, but with particular leave upon some great occasion, & then also with a Companion, or rather *Spy* upon all their words & actions. What

What *Hercules's*, what *Alexanders*, what *Heroes* ever warr'd at this rate before, to run the hazard of ſeveral Deaths in the Fight, & of a Life worſe than Death after the Conqueſt? But nothing is too hard for them who have *Chriſt* for their *Captaine*, & his *Glory* for their only Aime. And though the Arme of Flesh, I meane the ſeveral *Orders of Knight hood* inſtituted by the *Catholique Church*, have done wonderfull things, as that worthy & learned Gentleman *Mr Aſhmole* (who has oblig'd by his excellent Worke all English men of Extraction or Curioſity) tell's us; for ſpeaking of thoſe undaunted Champiõs, he ſayes, [a] „ That their *holy Zeal hath very* „ *far contributed to the Propagation & Ad-* „ *vancement of the Chriſtian Profeſſion*, ſince „ they generally employ'd themſelves in „ the ſervice of *God*, & ſpent their *bloud* in „ defence of his *Faith* againſt *Saracens Turks* „ *& Unbeleevers*. I ſay though the Arm of Flesh has done great things, yet they are nowiſe comparable to the Conqueſts made by the *Sword of the Spirit*, the Weapon on which the *holy Spouſe* (according to the promiſſes of her dear *Lord*) ever principally depended; uſing the other, to ſhow that humane meanes are not to be neglected, & that there are opportunities for all

[a] *Inſtitution of the Order of the Garter. p. 48*

men

men to exercise their Talent (whatever it be) in this great & glorious Vineyard. But how much now *Christianity* has bin any ways advanc'd among *Saracens, Turks*, or *Unbeleevers* by the *Reformed*, may be soon recounted, no Countrey having bin ever yet converted by them; whereas the Catholique *Church* since our *Saviours Ascension*, has endeavour'd it day & night, & cā truly also say,

[a] *Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?*

a *Virgil. lib.* 1. *What place is there in the habitable world where her painfull Missioners have not bin?* Nay so far are Protestants from Propagating *Christian Religion*; „ That *Dr Stubs* (in b *p.* 2. & 3. „ his b *Reflexions on the present War with the* „ *united Netherlands*) not only mentions „ the cruel Persecution, & *horrible torturing* „ of it's Professors *in Japan, at the Instiga-* „ *tion of the DUTCH* for the Advancemēt „ of their trade, *& their subscribing them-* „ *selves HOLLANDERS*, when the Ques- „ tion was askt, *Whether they were Christians*, „ but also shows their *detestable & unpa-* „ *rallel'd Treaty*, approved even by their „ *States, both Provincial & General.*

Let it not then be said that there is any thing in your *Lordship* of that Nation's humour, which Idolizes Advantage, & to promote it, can see their Fellows that

are

are *redeem'd by the Blood of the Lamb* harrass'd & injur'd. Nor will you like the method (I am perswaded) of any *Adversary*, & our *Enemies* in general, who are alwayes repeating the Actions of some *Papists*, without taking notice in the least of our *Answers*, or that their own Party (as I have shew'd you in several places of this *Treatise*) are guilty of the same Crime, yea in a higher Degree. But you well know the Cause of this Usage, & that in Prudence, when men have nothing to say, they cannot do better, than run to a Subject, which is sure to go downe, & which (like a frequent Oath in a Hector's mouth) graces, they thinke, their whole Discourse. Nor are their other *Practices* lesse dexterous & ingenious, as the *Catching* at, & *insisting* with the utmost seriousnesse on slight Passages, & things of little import, whether true or false, so that shuffling over the main & weighty Points, if they chance to worst a man here, no single *Ovation* will serve the turne, but a mighty *Triumph* must (they think) in all Justice be presently decreed them. In this manner have they set upon me about the [a]*Parenthesis* of the *Munster Treaty*, the *Time of publishing* [b]*Del Rio's Books*, the [c]*Contest of Philip the 4th of France, & the Emperour Charles the 5th with the Pope*, & in short, about

[a] *p.* 237.
[b] *p.* 522
[c] *p.* 508

about several other insignificant matters (as I have most particularly shown) though in the close with no great honour to themselves. Nay, *after often Eluding, & wrong stating the* Question, *Avoiding the Streſſe of Arguments, Drawing mad Concluſions*, & the like, I have bin attaqued with downright *Falſifications*; a Practice ſo uſual all along ſince the *Reformation*, & ſo inceſſantly exclamed at by us, that the great *Chillingworth* was forc't to Confeſſe it, ſaying,

a *Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra,*

a *Chil. Pref. to the Author of Charity maintain'd.*

That both the one & the other are peccant; though in concluſion he will forſooth have it, *that Papiſts are more guilty of this fault than Proteſtants.*

Thus ſhuffles he; but my *Lord* this & the like putts off muſt not ſerve my *Adverſary's* turne; for I write not for Advantage or to be preferr'd, but (by defending my ſelfe that am aſſaulted) to ſhow Evidently the truth of things; & ſince I ſeek wholly this, nothing can conduce more to it, than the *Laying down all that has bin ſaid on both ſides, from the very beginning of the Conteſt*; ſo that if I am in the Wrong either in Part or in the whole, it ſhall ſtand as a perpetual Record againd me; & if my *Adverſary* be mistaken, he muſt expect to have his faults apparent & Regiſter'd alſo. 'Tis the

want

want of this candid & satisfactory *method*, that still keeps men in the darke, & is the cause (notwithstanding such cõtinual Writing) why nothing is ever brought to a head: For if a Reply chãce to come out after the customary way, & more especially a Rejoynder, the first Dispute or main matter is either not understood, or else quite forgotten by the Reader, so that on course the trivial things (as lesse intricate in themselves) become the most intelligible, which, if they happen to be manag'd by a witty man (let his principal Cause be never so bad) often Crown him with Victory in the Cõmon Opinion, or at least leave many dubious & unsatisfied. To obviat then this Elusion, & to show all Artifices & Impertinencies on both sides, I shall (I say) punctually ever follow this candid & most impartial Method; nor can there be I am sure many Blows, (our Engagement being about matter of Fact) but either I, or my *Adversary* must fall. Besides the *Recapitulation* (though it make's the Treatise a little longer) will not only afford my *Readers* the forementioned satisfaction of seing at a view how things have pass'd, but be usefull also to them, by putting thẽ in minde of several remarkable occurrences in History. And to the end that all I cite maybe fully examin'd

I have added here at the end a Catalogue of my *Authors*, & the very *Editions* I use; for I desire the particulars may be brought to any Light, & there passe the utmost scrutiny; & when I faile to make them still good against all new Artifices & defamatory suggestions whatsoever, I shall desire that my *silence* may as much passe for a manifestation of my over throw, as *shifting*, *patching*, & the other wretched *Consequences* of writing only to satisfy Expectation (the *grande Mode* of the times) ought to do in reality & Justice.

I must now my *Lord* take my leave of you, not questioning but as you have found us true *Englishmen*, so you will ever own us as such; *for no Differences in Religion can (according to our Tenets) make us forget either our Duty to our Countrey in general, or Affection to our Friends & Relations in particular.* This is the *Doctrine* which was alwayes taught me, & this your *Lordship* will not (I dare say) doubt of, should I be so fortunate to be as well known to you, as I have bin to several other *Persons of Honour*; & since you *Lordship* has so good a *Title* to that Appellation (both by your Quality & Genial Aire, which usually inspires our *Natives* with Noble & Great thoughts) nothing can certainly be more gratefull to

you

you, than an occasion to expresse Galantry; & how can you better do it, than by seing Right done to the Innocency of brave Men, that now suffer for *Conscience*, & to the Memory of those (mention'd in the following Catalogue) that lately died for one; I mean their loyalty, which is so great a part of it. Thus Kissing your hands I rest

Your Lp's Faithfull Servant.

P. S. Being very desirous that this Treatise should be with your *Lp* at Lódon about *May* or at *Iune* farthest; I sent it sheet by sheet to the Presse, which presétly became very vexatious to me, being continually alarm'd by the Printer for new Copy; so that I was forc'd to dispatch several things (to my Adversary's Advantage) much sooner than I intended. But now that all is done, I am more troubled than ever, first by the Soldiers insolencies, who so infest the wayes, that I know not when I shall have the Opportunity of transmitting this over to you; & ally by the Printer's negligence, who has I finde left out, not only words & sentences, but by mistaking one line for another, has also alter'd many; Nor is it possible for an Overseer (who is not us'd to the Employment) to correct the Errors of Work-men that compose in a forren Language. The *Errata's* are too many to be put down, & would rather affright than satisfy a Reader; therfor all the amends I can at present make, is to promise another Impression with some material Additions.

FINIS.

A

CATALOGVE OF THOSE CATHOLICKS THAT DIED, AND SUFFERED FOR THEIR LOYALTY.

THe Earle of *Carnarvan*, *slain at* Newbury *first Battle.*

Lord Viscount Dunbar at Scarborough, *and two of his sons much wounded.*

Knights.

Sir Iohn Smith, Banneret (who rescued the Kings Standart from the Rebels at Edghil *) slain at* Alresford *in* Hampshire.

Sir Iohn Cansfield, wounded at Newbury, *of which he died a lingring death.*

Sir Hen. Gage) Governour of Oxford *) slain at* CollumBridge.

Sir I. Digby wounded at Taunton, *and died at* Bridgewater.

Sir P. Brown wounded at Naseby, *died at* Northampton.

Sir Nich. Forteſcue, Knight of Malta, *slain in* Lancashire.

Sir Troylus Turbervill Captain-Lieut. of the Kings life-Guard) slain upon his Majesty's marching from Newark *to* Oxford.

Sir I. Preston, wounded at Fournace, *of which he died.*

Sir Arthur Aston-Governour of Reding *) slain at* Tredaugh.

Sir Thomas Tildesly, slain at Wiggan.

Sir Henry Slingsby beheaded on Towerhill.

Co-

Colonels.

Col. Th. Howard (son of the Lord William Howard) slain at Peirsbridge.

Col. Tho. Howard (son of Sir Francis) at Atherton-Moor: *The gaining which Battle was principally ascrib'd to his Valour.*

Col. Tho. Morgan of Weſton *in* Warwicksh: *slain at the first.* Newbery *battle: he raised a Regiment of Horse for the King at his own charge, and his Estate was given to Mr* Pyms *son.*

Col. Cuthbert Conniers, at Malpaſſ.

Col. Tho. Dalton of Thurnham, mortally wounded at Newbury *second battle, and died at* Marlborough.

Col. Francis Hungate, slain at Cheſter.

Col. Poor (Governour of Berkley - *Caſtle) neer* Lidney.

Col. Will. Ewre (Son to the late Lord Ewre) at Marſton-Moor.

Col. Ra. Pudſey, at--

Col. Cuth Clifton, slain at Manchester.

Col. Caſſey Bental, at Stow *in the Wolds.*

Col. Trollop, slain at Wiggan.

Col. William Bains at Malpaſſ.

Col. William Walton, at Tredagh.

Cel. Rich. Manning, at Alresford.

Lieut. Colonels.

Lieutenant Col. Thomas Markhã of Allerton, *slain neer* Grainsborough.

L. Col. Lancelot Holsby, at Branteford.

L. Col. Haggerſton, at Preſton.

L. Col. Pavier, at Line.

L. Col. Iordan Metham. at Pontefract.

L. Col. Iohn Godfrey, at Tewksbury.

L. Col. George Preſton, at Bradford.

L. Col. Will. Houghton, at Newbury.

L. Col. Phil. Howard, slain, at Cheſter.

L. Col. Middleton, at Hopton-Heath.

L. Col. Michael Conſtable, there also

L. Col. Sayr, at Nasby.

L. Col. Scot, at Alresford.

L. Col. Thomas Salvin. at-

L. Col. Richard Brown, at-

L.

L. Col. Goodridge wounded at -- and died at Oxford.

L. Col. Congrave, slain at Dean in Glouceſt.

Sergeant-Major.

Major Cuſand, ſlain at the taking of Baſing.

Major Rich. Harborn wounded at Malpaſſ, dy'd at Kendal.

Major T. Vavaſor, ſlain at Marſton-Moor.

Major Panton, wounded at Cover, dy'd at High-meadow.

Major Hudleſton, ſlain at York.

Major Thomas Ewre, at Newbury 1. Bat.

Major Lawrence Clifton, at Shelfordhouſe.

Major Thomas Heskith, at Malpaſſ.

Major William Leak, at Newbury 1. Bat.

Maj. Rively, wounded at Naſeby, dy'd priſoner at London.

Maj. Richard Sherburn, at —

Maj. Holmby, at Henly.

Major Rich Norwood, ſlain before Taunton.

Captains.

Captain Marmaduke Coſtable, Standard-bearer to L. Gen. Lindſey, ſlain at Edgehill.

Cap. Wil. Laborn, and Cap. Mat. Anderton, at Sheriff-hutton in Yorkhire.

Capt. Joſeph Conſtable, at Newbury.

Capt. Wiburn, ſlain at Baſing.

Capt. Burgh, ſlain at Cover.

Capt. Thurſton Anderton, wounded at Newbury, died at Oxford.

Capt. Haggerſton (eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas) in Lancashire.

Capt. Anthony Rigby, at Bazing-houſe.

Capt. Richard Bradford, at — —

Capt. Kenelm Digby (eldeſt ſon of Sir Kenelm Digby) raiſed a Troop of Horſe at his own charge, and was ſlain at St Neotes.

Capt. Ratcliff Houghton, at Preſton.

Capt. Rob. Molineux of the Wood in Lancashire, ſlaid at Newbury 1.

Capt. Charl. Thimelby, at Worceſter.

Capt. Robert Townſend.

&c.

at Edge-hill.

Capt. Matthew Ratcliff, neer Henly.

Capt. Richard Wolfole, at Newbury.

Capt. Anthony Awd.

Capt. Thomas Cole, at Newark.

Capt. Partifon, at Wiggan.

Capt. Maximil. Nelfon, at Marfton-moor.

Capt. Fran. Godfrey, flain at Sherburn.

Capt. Tho. Meynel, at Pontefract.

Capt. John Clifton, at Shelford-houfe.

Cap. Abraham Lance. & Capt. Robert Lance, at Rowton in Chefh.

Capt. Anth. Hamerton, neer Manchefter.

Capt. Will. Symcots, capt. Lieut. to the Lord Piercy, flain at Newberry 1.

Capt. Tho. Singleton, at Newberry 1.

Capt. Francis Errington of Denton in Northumberland, at Rotheram.

Capt. George Singleton, at --

Capt. Mich. Fitzakerly at Liverpool.

Capt. Daniel Thorold, at Nasby.

Capt. Franc. Clifton, at Newberry 1.

Capt. John Lance, at Iflip.

Capt. George Caffey, at Hereford.

Capt. Langdale, at Greekhovel in Wales.

Capt. Carver, in Monmouthfhire.

Captain John Lingen, at Ledbury.

Capt. Samways, at Newberry 2.

Capt. John Plumton, flain at York.

Capt. Pet. Forcer, at -

Capt. Thomas Whittingham, at Newberry.

Capt. Winkley, at Leverpool.

Capt. Thomas Anderton, at --

Capt. Rich. Walmfly, at Ormfchurch.

C. John Swinglehurft, & Capt. John Butler, at Marfton-Moor.

Capt. George Holden, at Litchfield.

Capt. Tho. Charnock, at -

Cap. Rob. Dent. at Newcaftle.

Cap. Thomas Heskith, & Capt. John Knipe, at Bindle.

C. Th. Eccleſtõ, at Warintõ

Capt. Iohn Hutherſal.

Capt. Nic. Anderton; at Greeno-Caſtle.

Capt. Authony Girlingtõ, Lancaſter.

Capt. Francis Rous, in Dean-Forreſt.

Capt. Randolph Wallinger at Cover.

Capt. Chriſtoph Wray, ſlain at Bradford.

Capt. Wil. Rookwood, at Alresford.

Capt. Rob. Rookwood, at Oxford.

Capt. Hoskins, ſlain at Lidney.

Cap. Phil. Darcy, at—

Capt. Wil. Iones, at Ragland.

Capt. Henry Wells, wounded at Newberry 2. died in priſon at London.

Capt. Richardſon, ſlain before Taunton.

Capt. Tho. Madden, ſlain in Woodſtreet.

Inferiour Officers.

Lieutenant Will. Buſler, ſlain at Newberry.

Lieut. Rich. Osbalſton, at Leeds.

Lieut. George Hotherſal, at Leverpool.

Lieut. William Girlingtõ, at —

Lieut. Iohn Kulcheth, at Worral.

Lieut. William Singletõ, at Marſton.

Lieut. Peter Boardman, at Bradford.

Lieut. Short, ſlain neer Glocester.

Lieut. Rich. Bradſort, at Blechinton.

L. Iames Bradſord, at—

Lieut. Tho. Kinſman, at Lincoln.

Lieut. Iohn Birch, at Brimicham.

Lieut. Staley, at Ruſhall-Hall.

Cornet William Culchereth, at Newberry.

Cor Deinton, at Cardiff.

Cor. Rob. Lanie, at Cheshire.

Cor. Edw. Walker, at Burton.

Cor. Miles Lochard, at Gooderidge.

Gentlemen Volontiers.

The honorable Edw. Talbot (brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury) ſlain at Marſton-moor.

Mr. Char. Townly, & Mr. Charles Sherburn, ſhare alſo.

Mr.

Mr. Nic. Thimelby, at Briſtow.
Mr. Pool of Worral, at-
Mr. John Tipper, at Newman.
Mr. Chriſtoph. Blunt, at Edgbalſton.
Mr. Theodore Mouſe, at Langport.
Mr. Gerard Salvin, at-
Mr. Francis Darcy, at-
Mr. Wiburn.
Mr. Rob. Bowles, *Mr. Wil. Stoner.* } at Basing.
Col. Price of Washingly *in* Northamptonsh, *ſlain at* Lincoln.
Mr. Cuthbert Ratcliff, *ſlain at* Newcaſtle.
Mr. Tho. Latham, at Newarck.
Mr. Andrew Giffard, at Hampton.
Mr. Lewis Blunt, at Manchester.
Mr. Cary, &
Mr. Iennings, at Shelfordhouſe.
Mr. Iames Anderton, in Wales.
Mr. Thomas Roper, at Goodtheridge.
Mr. Stephen Pudſey, in Holderneſſ.
Mr. Francis Pavier, at Marſton.
M. Iames Bāton, at Cover.
Mr. Pendrel, at Stow.
Mr. Boniface Kemps, &
Mr. Ildefons Heskes, *ſlain neer* York.
Mr. Mich. Wharton, at Scarborough.
Mr. Errington, at Chester.
Tho. Weſtby Doctor of Phiſick, at Preſton.
Mr. Peter Davis, at Denbigh.
Mr. Edw. Davis, at Chester.
Mr. Bret, at —
Mr. Roger Wood, at Chester.
Mr. Hen. Lawſon, at Melton.
Mr. Tho. Craithorn the elder, at Uphaven.
Mr. Hen. Johnſon, at —
Three ſons of Mr. Kitby of Rancliff.
John Witham. *Wil. Selby.* } at Preſton.

More Catholiques *that* DIED *for their Loyalty.*

SR. *Tim. Tetherſton kill'd*, at Chester.
Col. Lord. Bovil kill'd, at Preſton.

Lieut. Col. Geo. Plucknet, who was Lieut. Col. to Sr Iervice Lucas kill'd at Burley house *near* Stāford.

Major Gilb. Markam, Maj. of Col. Wrayes Regiment who was wounded at West-Chester, *& dyed in Prison.*

Maj. Whitmore, *Maj. to the Ld John Bellasys's Regimēt, kill'd in a Sally from* Newark.

Maj: Trollop kill'd, at —

Capt. Cha. Sherbon kill'd at Shelford house, *where the Queen's Regiment of Horse was put to the Sword.*

Capt. Tho. Paston, slain at Yorke.

Capt. Hen. Butler, slain at Brindle.

Capt. Andr. Meynell, slain at Marston-Moor.

Capt. Tho. Wood, slain at Preston.

Lieut. Geo. Collingwood, slain at Newb. *first Battel.*

Lieut. Geo. Fitz-Williams who died of his wounds receiv'd at Burton *upon* Trent.

L. Liveseley, slain at Islip.

Cornet Geo. Ily, who dye'd at York *of his wounds receiv'd at* Bradford.

Mr. Herb. Max Wel, at Aber sam by Andover.

Mr. Rd. Seborne, slain at Ragland.

Mr. Wil. Alsley, slaine at Wiggan.

Major General Will. Web so wounded at Newberry ***by Case-shot, that he lives a dying life.***

John. 15. 13.

Greater love then this no man hath, *that a man lay own his life for his friend.*

The Names of such Catholiks, whose Estates (both Real and Personal) were sold, in persuance of an Act made by the Rump, *July* 16. 1651. for their pretended Delinquency:

JOhn *Lord Marquesse of* Winchester, *who so valianly defended* Basing-house.

Henry Lord Marquesse of Worcester, *who has been at least* 300000. *l. looser by the War.*

Francis

Francis Lord Cottington.
Lord Iohn Sommerset.
Marmaduke L. Langdale, and his son.
Sir Iohn Winter, who so stoutely defended Lidney-house.
Sir Thomas Tildesly himselfe slain, and his Estate sold.
Sir Hen. Slingsby, beheaded at Towerhill, *and his Estate sold.*
Sir Piercy Herbert, now Lord Powys.
Sir Francis Howard.
Sir Henry Bedingfield.
Sir Artur Aston, Governour of Reading.
Sir Tho. Haggerston.
Rog. Bodenham, Esq;
Charles Townly, Esq;
Rowland Eyre, Esq;
Peter Pudsey, Esq;
Iohn Gifford, Esq;

Other Catholicks, whose Estates were sold by an Additional *Rump-Act*, made *Aug.* 4. 1652.

Henry Lord Viscount Dunbar and his son.
Sir Wil. Vavasor.
Sir Edw. Ratcliff.
Thomas Clifton, Esq.
Peter Gifford of Chillington, Esq;
Walter Fowler of St. Thomas, Esq;
Thomas Brook of Madelay, Esq;
Francis Biddulph of Biddulph, Esq.
William Middleton *of* Stocton, Esq;
Nicholas Errington, Esq;
Langre Errington, Esq;
Henry Errington Es;
Iohn Iones of Dingestow, Esq.
Iohn Weston, Esq;
Phil. Hungate, Esq;
Rob. Dolman Gent.
Rich. Masley, Gent.
Geo. Smith, Gent.
Ralph Pudsey, Gent.

More Catholicks, whose Estates were sold by an other *Rump-Act*, made *Novemb.* 18. 1652.

Henry Lord Arundel of Wardor, *who raised a Regiment of Horse for the King, and whose Castle of* Wardor *was so gallantly defended against* Edward Hungerford.
Henry Lord Morley and Monteagle.
William Lord Ewre.

William Lord Powis. who held long his castle of Powis against the enemy; and being taken in it was kept a great while prisoner at Stafford, and died in durance at London.

Lord Charles Somerset.

Sir Walter Blunt, long a prisoner in the Tower.

Sir Edw. Widrington, who raised a Regiment of Horse.

Sir Richard Tichburn.

Sir Charles Blount (slain also by one of his own Cap.)

Sir I. Clavering dy'd a prisoner at London.

Sir John Cansfield.

Sir John Thimelby of Ernam.

Sir Philip Constable.

Sir Edw. Plumpton.

Sir Nicolas Thornton, Who raised a Troop of Horse at his own charge.

Hugh Anderton of Exton

Tho. Lantgtree of Langtree.

Will. Hoghton, Esq;

Will. Hesketh, Esq;

Will. Larham, Esq;

Tho. Singleton, Esq;

John Westby, Esq;

Sir Edward Charlton.

Willi. Sheldon of Beely, Esq.

Will. Gage of Bently, Esq;

Tho. Clavering, Esq;

John Plumpton, Esq;

Marm. Holby, Esq;

Hen. Englefield, Esq;

Robert Wigmore, Esq;

Rob. Cramblingtō, Esq;

Will. Sherburn, Esq;

John Constable, Esq;

Richard Latham, Esq;

William Bawd. Esq;

Iames Anderton, of Birchley, Esq;

Thomas Singleton, Esq;

John Talbot, Esq;

Nich. Fitzakerly, Esq;

John Piercy, Esq,

Thomas Acton of Burton Esq;

Tho. Gillibrand, Esq;

Tho. Grimshow, Esq;

Ralph Rishton, and Wil. Floyer Gentl.

Richard Chorley of Chorley.

Iames Anderton of Cleyton Esq;

Will. Anderton of Anderton, Esq; with many others.

Mr Edmund Church of Essex, was one of the first whose personal Estate was plundred and his real sequestred, Which so cōtinued

(With-

(without any allowance to his wife and Children) fro 1642. till 1449. when he died prisoner.

Mr. Iohn Barlow of Pembrookshire, his whole Estate (being at least 1500. l. per an) was given to Col Horton. & cap. Nicolas, without allowance of any fifths, or other sustenance for his wife and many children.

More names of such, who lost their Estates.

Lieut. Col. Tho. Markham of Ollerton, whose Estate was begg'd by Francis Thorney a Col. for the Rebels.

Sr Iohn Middleton of Yorkshire, whose Estate was sold by the Rebels.

Mrs Fitz-Williams of Claxby in Lincolnshire, was a hundred yeares old, & for being a Papist, & having her Sons in the Kings Army, the Rebels plunderd her to the bare Walls, pull'd the Tiles of her house, & sequestred her Estate, which was about 500. pounds per an: & being entreated by some Friends to allow her 30 pounds a yeare they refus'd it.

Cata-

A catalogue of the Authors mẽtiond in this Treatise, with the Yeare when, & the Place where they were printed, except omitted in the Impressions, or cited by some of the foresaid Authors.

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Reader,

Reader, though I first intended an Alphabetical INDEX, yet upon second thoughts, I finde, 'twill be more for your convenience to have the CONTENTS of the whole set down in order which being but short, you may quickly run over upon any occasion.

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other Popish Religion. How Christianity has bin advanc'd by Popery & depress by Protestantisme. Of the Artifices & shuffling of Protestant Writers; with the methode of obviating them for the future.

Finding (*Reader*) that the different dates to the several Pieces in this Treatise, have not bin readily understood by some; I thought it not amisse to acquaint you (though late) that they show the time of the first Publication of the said Pieces, which the *Advertisement* mentiõs; but not so fully, (it seems) as it ought to have done.

FINIS.

